# LIVY

IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES

XIII

BOOKS XLIII–XLV

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

ALFRED C. SCHLESINGER

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# LIVY

## XIII

## BOOKS XLIII-XLV

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# CONTENTS

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Henry Bettenson: *Livy: Rome and the Mediterranean* [Books 31–45; 'the text has been cut at some points but carries the main narrative'] (*Penguin Classics*), Harmondsworth 1976

### General

W. Haase (ed.): *ANRW* II 30.2, Berlin 1982 (includes J. Briscoe, 'Livy and Senatorial Politics, 200–167 B.C.: the evidence of the fourth and fifth decades,' pp. 1075–1121, and W. Kissel, 'Livius 1933–1978: eine Gesamtbibliographie,' pp. 899–997)

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G. P. G.

# TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

A FULLER report of the text is given in this volume than in the immediately preceding volume. The attempt has been made to present all emendations subsequent to the *editio princeps*; but a few repeated misspellings of proper names and similarly obvious corrections are not reported. A few of the emendations of the *princeps* have been included *exempli gratia*. The apparatus of Giarratano (*Titi Livi Ab Urbe Condita Libri XLI–XLV*, Rome, 1933) has been constantly consulted, but not always followed.

The maps are intended to show the location of all places mentioned in the volume, if the location is known. Alternative locations for Oaeneum and Draudacum in Illyria are shown, to indicate the conjectural nature of the locations. The following places seemed impossible to locate, even by conjecture:

| | |
|---|---|
| Agravonitae, Illyria | Durnium, Illyria |
| Ancyra, Illyria | Horreum, Epirus |
| Caravandis, Illyria | Marcolica, Spain |
| Carnuns, Illyria | Meleon, Epirus |
| Ceremia, Illyria | Minervium, Italy |
| Citium, Mount, Epirus | Papinus, Mount, Italy |
| Dassarenses, Illyria | Pista, Illyria |
| Dierus, near Mount Olympus | Selepitani, Illyria |
| | Sicimina, Mount, Italy |

## CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

*V* = Codex Vindobonensis Lat. 15, *s.* 5 *sive* 6.
*Fr.* = editio Frobeniana 1531, ed. Grynaeus.
*Bas.* = editio Basileensis 1535, ed. Beatus Rhenanus, Gelenius.

ALFRED CARY SCHLESINGER

*Oberlin College.*

# LIVY

## FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

## BOOK XLIII

# T. LIVI

## AB URBE CONDITA

## LIBER XLIII

A.U.C. 583

I. Eadem aestate qua in Thessalia haec gesta sunt[1] . . .,[2] legatus in Illyricum a consule missus[3] opulenta
2 duo oppida oppugnavit. Ceremiam vi atque[4] armis coegit in deditionem; omniaque iis sua concessit, ut opinione clementiae eos, qui Carnuntem, munitam
3 urbem, incolebant, adliceret. Postquam nec ut dederent se compellere neque capere obsidendo poterat, ne duabus oppugnationibus nequiquam fatigatus miles esset, quam prius intactam urbem reliquerat diripuit.
4 Alter consul C. Cassius nec in Gallia, quam sortitus erat, memorabile quicquam gessit et per Illyricum ducere legiones in Macedoniam vano incepto est
5 conatus. Ingressum hoc iter consulem senatus ex

[1] haec gesta sunt *Kreyssig*: *om. V.*
[2] *lacunam indicavit Sigonius.*
[3] a consule missus *Fr*: a cons. omissus *V.*
[4] oppugnavit. Ceremiam vi atque *Weissenborn, Madvig*: oppugnaiuiceremiamiuadque *V.*

---

[1] The name is lost; perhaps it was the ex-consul Gaius Claudius (cf. XLII. xlix. 9), since the other ex-consul, Mucius, was made a *legatus* (XLII. lxvii. 9, cf. also lviii. 13).



# LIVY

## FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

## BOOK XLIII

I. During the same summer in which this campaign B.C. 171
was fought in Thessaly, the staff-officer . . .,[1] sent by the consul into Illyricum, besieged two rich cities. Ceremia[2] he compelled by force of arms to surrender; and he left to its inhabitants all their possessions, in order by his reputation for clemency[3] to entice the dwellers in the walled city of Carnuns. After he had been unable either to induce them to surrender or to capture them by blockade, in order that his soldiery might not be worn out by two sieges and gain nothing, he plundered the city which he had previously left untouched.

Gaius Cassius the second consul failed to accomplish anything of note in Gaul,[4] which had fallen to his lot, and made a vain attempt to lead his legions through Illyricum into Macedonia. The consul's venture on this journey became known to the senate through an

[2] The name is uncertain, and is not mentioned elsewhere; the location of the town can only be conjectured.
[3] The usual practice was to plunder a city which had been stormed, and spare one which surrendered (XXXVII. xxxii. 12).
[4] The active sector of his province of Italy (XLII. xxxii. 4).

A.U.C. 583 Aquileiensium legatis cognovit, qui querentes coloniam suam novam et infirmam necdum satis munitam inter
6 infestas nationes Histrorum et Illyriorum esse, cum peterent ut senatus curae haberet quomodo ea colonia muniretur, interrogati, vellentne eam rem C. Cassio
7 consuli mandari, responderunt Cassium Aquileiam indicto exercitu profectum per Illyricum in Macedoniam esse.[1] Ea res primo incredibilis visa, et pro se quisque credere Carnis forsitan aut Histris bellum
8 illatum. Tum Aquileienses: nihil se ultra scire nec audere adfirmare, quam triginta dierum frumentum militi datum et duces qui ex Italia itinera in Macedo-
9 niam nossent conquisitos abductosque. Enimvero senatus indignari tantum consulem ausum, ut suam provinciam relinqueret, in alienam transiret, exercitum novo periculoso itinere inter exteras gentes[2] duceret, viam tot nationibus in Italiam aperiret.[3]
10 Decernunt frequentes ut C. Sulpicius praetor tris ex senatu nominet legatos, qui eo die proficiscantur ex urbe et, quantum adcelerare possint,[4] Cassium con-
11 sulem, ubicumque sit, persequantur; nuntient ne bellum cum ulla gente moveat, nisi cum qua senatus

[1] esse *Fr*: se *V*.
[2] exteras gentes *Fr*: ceterasgetes *V*.
[3] duceret . . . aperiret *J. F. Gronovius*: ducere . . . aperire *V*.
[4] possint *Madvig*: possent *V*.

---

[1] It had been founded ten years before, cf. XL. xxxiv. 2.
[2] Cassius would either have had to traverse uninterruptedly mountainous country, as he followed the coast, or to go far inland, approximately to the line of the modern railway to Saloniki, as Philip planned for the Bastarnae; but these would have been aided by friendly tribes, whereas Cassius would have been beyond aid. The Romans had always used





embassy from Aquileia, which complained that their colony was new[1] and weak and had been as yet insufficiently fortified against the surrounding hostile tribes of Histrians and Illyrians; on their requesting that the senate should concern itself with means for fortifying this colony, they were asked if they wished this matter to be entrusted to Gaius Cassius the consul, but replied that Cassius, having mustered his army at Aquileia, had set out through Illyricum for Macedonia. This report seemed unbelievable at first, and the senators each thought to himself that perhaps a campaign against the Carnians or Histrians had been begun. Then the envoys from Aquileia said that they knew and dared assert nothing more than that thirty days' grain had been issued to the soldiery, and that guides who knew the roads from Italy into Macedonia had been sought out and taken along. Then indeed the senate was incensed that the consul had such effrontery as to leave his own district, trespass upon his colleague's, lead his army by a dangerous, untried route[2] among foreign peoples, and leave open to so many tribes the way into Italy.[3] A full senate decreed that the praetor Gaius Sulpicius should name three envoys from among the senators, who should that very day set out from the city and with all possible speed overtake the consul Cassius, wherever he might be; they were to declare to him that he must not engage in war with any people unless B.C. 171

the short sea-route from Brundisium to Illyricum and Greece, little as they liked seafaring.
[3] The most recent threat from this direction had been in 186–183 B.C., cf. XXXIX. xxii. 6, xlv. 6–7, liv, though the Transalpine Gauls who had moved in near Aquileia had acted peaceably enough. Cf. the plans of Philip for an invasion of Italy by the Bastarnae, XL. lvii.

A.U.C. 583

12 gerendum censuerit.[1] Legati hi profecti M. Cornelius Cethegus, M. Fulvius, P. Marcius Rex. Metus de consule atque exercitu distulit eo tempore muniendae Aquileiae curam.

II. Hispaniae deinde utriusque legati aliquot
2 populorum in senatum[2] introducti. Ii de magistratuum[3] Romanorum avaritia superbiaque conquesti, nixi genibus ab senatu petierunt ne se socios foedius
3 spoliari vexarique quam hostes[4] patiantur. Cum et alia indigna quererentur, manifestum autem esset pecunias captas, L. Canuleio praetori, qui Hispaniam sortitus erat, negotium datum est ut in singulos, a quibus Hispani pecunias repeterent, quinos recuperatores[5] ex ordine senatorio daret patronosque
4 quos vellent sumendi potestatem faceret. Vocatis in curiam legatis recitatum est senatus consultum,
5 iussique nominare patronos. Quattuor nominaver-

[1] censuerit *I. Perizonius*: censuerant *V.*
[2] senatum *Sigonius*: senatu *V.*
[3] Ii de magistratuum *Fr*: idemmagistratuum *V.*
[4] hostes *Fr*: hostiis *V.*
[5] recuperatores *Fr*: recuperarent *V.*

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[1] Strictly speaking, both the senate and the people had to approve the undertaking of a war; cf. the condemnations of similar unauthorized forays in XXXVIII. xlv. 5 and XLI. vii. 7–8.





the senate had determined on war against them.[1] B.C. 171
The following envoys set out: Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, Marcus Fulvius, Publius Marcius Rex. Fear for the consul and his army displaced for the present any consideration of fortifying Aquileia.

II. Next, envoys of several peoples from each of the Spains were presented to the senate. After complaining of the greed and arrogance of Roman officials,[2] they begged of the senate on bended knees that it would not permit them, its allies, to be more wretchedly despoiled and harassed than its enemies. Since they complained of other acts of injustice also and it was in fact obvious that money had been extorted, the task was assigned to the praetor Lucius Canuleius, to whom Spain[3] had been allotted, to assign for each man, from whom the Spaniards were seeking to recover money, five judges[4] of senatorial rank and to permit the Spaniards to choose any advocates they might wish. The decree of the senate was read to the envoys, who had been summoned to the senate-house, and they were ordered to name their advocates. They named four, Marcus

[2] On the overbearing attitude of Roman officials at this time, cf. below, vii–viii.

[3] The two provinces recognized in 197 B.C. (XXXII. xxviii. 11 and the note) were combined during this war in order to leave one praetor free to command the fleet (171 B.C., XLII. xxxi. 9; presumably in 170; 168, XLIV. xvii. 9; in 167, the two provinces were again separated, XLV. xvi. 1).

[4] Sometimes such a board was chosen by the parties to the case, either from their own number, or from a panel proposed by the magistrate in charge, but several inscriptions (*e.g.*, *C.I.L.*[2] I. 585, p. 460. xxxiv) mention choice of the arbiters by the magistrate. *Recuperatores* (literally "recoverers") were usually concerned with a claim involving Romans *vs.* foreigners. As foreigners, the Spaniards had to be represented by Roman advocates.

A.U.C. 583 unt, M. Porcium Catonem, P. Cornelium Cn. F. Scipionem, L. Aemilium L. F. Paulum,[1] C. Sulpicium
6 Gallum. Cum M. Titinio primum, qui praetor A. Manlio M. Iunio consulibus in citeriore Hispania fuerat, recuperatores sumpserunt. Bis [2] ampliatus,
7 tertio absolutus est reus. Dissensio inter duarum provinciarum legatos est orta [3]; citerioris Hispaniae populi M. Catonem et P.[4] Scipionem, ulterioris L. Paulum et Gallum Sulpicium patronos sumpserunt.
8 Ad recuperatores adducti a citerioribus populis P.
9 Furius Philus, ab ulterioribus M. Matienus; ille Sp. Postumio Q. Mucio consulibus triennio ante, hic biennio [5] prius L. Postumio M.[6] Popilio consulibus
10 praetor fuerat. Gravissimis criminibus accusati ambo ampliatique; cum dicenda de integro causa esset, excusati [7] exilii causa solum vertisse. Furius Prae-
11 neste, Matienus Tibur exulatum abierunt. Fama

[1] Scipionem, L. Aemilium L. F. Paulum *Pighius*: scipiol. aemiliumin. paulu *V*.
[2] bis *Fr*: vis *V*.
[3] est orta *Fr*: estora *V*.
[4] P. *add. H. J. Müller*: *om. V*.
[5] hic biennio *Fr*: hincuiennio *V*.
[6] M. *Fr*: C. *V*.
[7] excusati *Fr*: excusatio *V*.

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[1] He had benefited the province in 195 B.C. by establishing order and developing mining, cf. XXXIV. xxi. A speech in this case seems to have been once extant under the title *Pro Hispanis de frumento* (Charisius II. 198. 224 Keil) in which Cato attacked Publius Furius Philus, praetor of Nearer Spain in 174 B.C. (XLI. xxi. 3, cf. below, 8) for unjust valuation of grain received as tribute (Asconius on Cicero *Divinatio in M. Caecilium* 66, *Cato accusavit . . . P. Furium pro iisdem (Lusitanis) propter iniquissimam aestimationem frumenti*), cf. below, 12.





Porcius Cato,[1] Publius Cornelius Scipio son of Gnaeus, B.C. 171
Lucius Aemilius Paulus son of Lucius,[2] and Gaius Sulpicius Gallus. The case of Marcus Titinius, who had been praetor in Nearer Spain during the consulship of Aulus Manlius and Marcus Junius,[3] was first taken up by a board of judges.[4] The trial was twice adjourned, and at the third session the defendant was acquitted. A dispute arose between the envoys of the two provinces; the peoples of Nearer Spain chose as advocates Marcus Cato and Publius Scipio, those of Farther Spain took Lucius Paulus and Sulpicius Gallus. There were brought before judges by the peoples of the nearer province Publius Furius Philus, by those of the farther province Marcus Matienus[5]; the former had been praetor three years before, in the consulship of Spurius Postumius and Quintus Mucius, the latter had served two years before, when Lucius Postumius and Marcus Popilius were consuls. Both were accused on most serious charges and the cases were adjourned; when the time came for a fresh trial, the defence reported that they had left Roman territory to go into exile. Furius went for his exile to Praeneste, Matienus to

[2] Scipio had been praetor in Farther Spain in 193 B.C. (XXXIV. xliii. 7 records his assignment, XXXV. i. 3–12, his exploits), and Paulus had been in Farther Spain as praetor and propraetor from 191 to 189 B.C. (his assignment in XXXVI. ii. 6; his activities, XXXVII. lvii. 5–6).

[3] In 178 B.C.; Titinius was also in Spain the following two years (XLI. ix. 3, xv. 11, xxvi. 1). A namesake was City Praetor in 178.

[4] This is the earliest known trial of an official thus accused by provincials; previous complaints of like nature (cf. XXIX. xvi–xix, XXXIX. iii. 1–3, below, v) had been adjusted by the senate directly, or through the consuls.

[5] Cf. XLI. xxviii. 5, where the first name is given as Gaius.

A.U.C. 583

erat prohiberi a patronis nobiles ac potentes compellare; auxitque [1] eam suspicionem Canuleius praetor, quod omissa ea re dilectum habere instituit, dein repente in provinciam abiit, ne [2] plures ab Hispanis
12 vexarentur. Ita praeteritis silentio obliteratis in futurum tamen consultum ab [3] senatu Hispanis, quod impetrarunt, ne frumenti aestimationem magistratus Romanus haberet neve cogeret vicensimas vendere Hispanos, quanti ipse vellet,[4] et ne praefecti in oppida sua ad pecunias cogendas imponerentur.

III. Et alia novi generis hominum ex Hispania le-
2 gatio venit. Ex militibus Romanis et ex Hispanis mulieribus, cum quibus conubium non esset, natos se memorantes, supra quattuor milia hominum, orabant [5]
3 ut sibi oppidum in quo habitarent daretur. Senatus decrevit, uti nomina sua apud L. Canuleium profiterentur eorumque, si quos manumisissent,[6] eos

[1] auxitque eam *Fr* : auxiadque *V* : atque auxit *Hartel.*
[2] abiit, ne *Fr* : abitinere *V.*
[3] tamen consultum ab *Kreyssig* : consultamentumab *V.*
[4] Hispanos, quanti ipse vellet *Fr* : hispanonisquantiipsevellent *V.*
[5] hominum orabant *Fr* : hominumexhispaniaorabant *V.*
[6] manumisissent *Madvig* : manumissent *V* : manumisisset *Fr.*

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[1] Polybius VI. xiv. 7 mentions these towns and Naples as *asyla* for exiles, and praises as a form of Roman moderation the institution of voluntary exile. In these private suits the exile was apparently not made official by the "ban of fire and water," as in cases prosecuted by the state, cf. XXVI. iii. 12. Exiles automatically surrendered their Roman citizenship and took up that of the town in which they took refuge.

[2] Roman officials are forbidden to demand an arbitrary money-equivalent for grain furnished them, perhaps for their own use and that of their army; nor are they arbitrarily to set the price paid for the grain which the Spaniards were required to sell to the Romans, in order to help maintain the





Tibur.[1] There was a rumour that the advocates B.C. 171
would not allow accusations against men of rank and influence; this suspicion was increased by Canuleius the praetor, who gave up this investigation, began to hold a levy, and then suddenly left for his province, so that no more men should be assailed by the Spaniards. Though bygones were thus shrouded in silence, the senate voted for the future what the Spaniards had requested—that a Roman official should not set the price for grain, nor compel the Spaniards to sell their five-per-cent quotas [2] at the price he wished, and that no officers should be placed over their towns to collect money.

III. Another embassy, also from Spain, of a novel class of people, arrived. Stating that they were the children of Roman soldiers and of Spanish women, between whom legal marriage could not exist,[3] and that they numbered over four thousand souls, they asked that a town be given them in which to live. The senate decreed that they should declare before Lucius Canuleius the praetor their own names and the names of any slaves they might have set free,

flow of grain to Italy. Whereas in Sicily tithes of grain constituted a tax traditional in the region and continued by the Romans, in Spain the tax (*stipendium*) paid to the Romans as overlords seems to have been in money, or perhaps in precious metals; the twentieths here mentioned were not a tax, but a compulsory sale, like the *second* tithe which might on occasion be required of Sicily. The size of the quota perhaps reflects the lesser fertility of Spain. Special levies of money and grain from Spain are mentioned in XXIX. iii. 5 (a punitive levy), XXX. iii. 2 (a war-levy for the army in Africa) and XXX. xxvi. 6 (perhaps the regular tax).

[3] Children of such unrecognized marriages were not illegitimate in the modern sense, but had the mother's status, so that these people were legally Spaniards.

A.U.C. 583

4 Carteiam ad Oceanum deduci placere; qui Carteiensium domi manere vellent, potestatem fieri, uti numero colonorum essent, agro adsignato. Latinam eam coloniam esse [1] libertinorumque appellari.

5 Eodem tempore ex Africa et Gulussa regulus, Masinissae filius,[2] legatus patris, et Carthaginienses
6 venerunt. Gulussa prior in senatum introductus et quae missa erant ad bellum Macedonicum a patre suo exposuit; et si qua praeterea vellent imperare [3] praestaturum merito populi Romani est pollicitus, et monuit patres conscriptos ut a fraude Carthagi-
7 niensium caverent: classis eos magnae parandae consilium cepisse,[4] specie pro Romanis et adversus Macedonas; ubi ea [5] parata instructaque esset, ipsorum fore potestatis, quem hostem aut socium habeant. Hanc iniec . . .[6]

[1] esse *J. F. Gronovius*: fuisse *V*.
[2] Gulussa regulus, Masinissae filius *Kreyssig*: gulussamaisinissaeregulusfilius *V*: G., M. regis filius *Fr*.
[3] imperare *Fr*: imperarent *V*.
[4] cepisse *Fr*: coepisse *V*.
[5] Macedonas; ubi ea *Fr*: macedoniasubea *V*.
[6] "*fortasse supplendum* Hanc iniectam patribus curam"—*Weissenborn–Müller*; *desunt* 4 *quaterniones*.

[1] Carteia was at the head of the Bay of Algeciras, just west of Gibraltar.
[2] *I.e.*, they might not keep their former land, but must take a share along with the newcomers.
[3] This was the first colony outside of the Italian peninsula to be given Latin rights; it was, in legal theory, an autonomous ally of Rome, whose citizens had the rights of trade and intermarriage with Romans.
[4] The previous story of the boundary dispute between these parties is told in XLII. xxiii–xxiv.
[5] As related in XLII. lxii. 2, lxv. 12–14, lxvii. 8.
[6] The Carthaginians had been left with only ten triremes (the cruisers of this period) at the end of the Second Punic





and that it was the pleasure of the senate that these people should be settled at Carteia near the Ocean;[1] any present inhabitants of Carteia who wished to remain at home would have the opportunity to be members of the colony, but on assigned land.[2] This colony was to have Latin rights [3] and to be called the freedmen's colony. B.C. 171

At the same time there came from Africa both Prince Gulussa, the son of Masinissa, as ambassador for his father, and Carthaginian envoys.[4] Gulussa was presented to the senate first, and set forth what supplies had been sent by his father for the Macedonian campaign [5]; he also promised that if they wished to order anything further, his father would furnish it, as due return to the Roman people, and he warned the senators to beware of treachery from the Carthaginians; they had adopted the plan, he added, of preparing a large fleet,[6] ostensibly for the Romans and against the Macedonians; when this fleet should be ready and equipped, the Carthaginians would be free to decide for themselves who should be considered an enemy or who an ally. The instilling of this [suspicion caused the senate] . . .[7]

War (XXX. xxxvii. 3); the treaty did not expressly forbid the rebuilding of the fleet, but the Romans would no doubt have prevented such action, except for the reason here alleged by the Carthaginians; on naval help to Rome by the Carthaginians, cf. XXXVI. xlii. 2 and XLII. lvi. 6.
[7] Four quaternions are lost from the MS. at this point. The following matters were treated: the outcome of the dispute between Masinissa and Carthage; the choice of magistrates and their provinces for 170 B.C.—the consuls were Aulus Hostilius Mancinus for Macedonia and Aulus Atilius Serranus for Italy (cf. below), while the praetor Lucius Hortensius received the fleet; the mistreatment of Coronea by Licinius (cf. below, iv. 5 and 11, and the Summary); the defeat of the

A.U.C. 584

IV. . . . tis tantum exinde pavorem[1] ingressi castra, ostentantes capita, fecerunt, ut, si admotus extemplo exercitus foret, capi castra potuerint.
2 Tum quoque fuga ingens facta est; et erant qui legatos mittendos ad pacem precibus petendam censerent; civitatesque complures eo nuntio audito in
3 deditionem venerunt. Quibus purgantibus sese culpamque in duorum amentiam conferentibus, qui
4 se ultro ad poenam ipsi obtulissent, cum veniam dedisset praetor, profectus extemplo ad alias civitates omnibus imperata facientibus quieto exercitu pacatum agrum, qui paulo ante ingenti tumultu arserat,
5 peragravit. Haec lenitas praetoris, qua sine sanguine ferocissimam gentem domuerat, eo gratior plebi patribusque fuit, quo crudelius avariusque in Graecia bellatum et ab consule Licinio et ab Lucretio
6 praetore erat. Lucretium tribuni plebis absentem contionibus adsiduis lacerabant, cum rei publicae causa abesse excusaretur; sed tum adeo vicina etiam inexplorata erant ut is eo tempore in agro suo Antiati esset aquamque[2] ex manubiis Antium ex flumine

[1] exinde *Kreyssig*, pavorem *Fr*: extitit pavor *V*; ex fiducia pavorem *M. Müller*; *coniecturam Kreyssigii non recipiunt edd.*

[2] aquamque *Fr*: quamque *V*.

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praetor Lucretius at Oreüs (Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus* ix); the secession of the Epirotes and Hostilius' narrow escape from them (cf. below, xxi. 4, Polybius XXVII. 13–14, Diodorus XXX. 5); Hostilius' unsuccessful campaign (cf. XLIV. ii. 6 and xxxvi. 10); Macedonian successes against the Dardani and Illyrians (cf. below, xix. 14, the Summary, and Orosius iv. 20); and the flare-up in Spain (cf. the Summary), the account of which comes to a conclusion as the text resumes.





IV. . . . they thereafter[1] caused such terror as B.C. 170
they entered the camp, displaying the heads, that if the army had been brought up at once, the camp might have been taken. Even as it was, a great panic took place, and there were those who advised sending envoys to beg for peace; many cities, too, on hearing this news, offered themselves in surrender. These cities cleared themselves and placed the blame on the folly of two men[2] who had of their own accord gone to meet their punishment, and the praetor, having accepted these excuses, set out at once for the other cities and, since everybody obeyed his commands, passed without using his army through a region, now peaceful, which shortly before had been aflame with a huge uprising. This clemency of the praetor, whereby without bloodshed he had tamed a very war-like people, was the more pleasing to the Roman commons and the Fathers because the campaign in Greece had been conducted with too much cruelty and greed by both the consul Licinius and Lucretius the praetor. Lucretius was assailed in his absence by the tribunes of the people in meeting after meeting, although it was stated in his behalf that he was absent in the service of the state; but in that day even the neighbourhood of the city was such unknown territory that he was at that time on his estate at Antium[3] and was engaged in bringing water to Antium from the River Loracina[4] at the

[1] "thereafter" is a conjecture not usually accepted by editors. The "heads" evidently belonged to two leaders of the revolt; those who brought them to the Spanish camp may have been released prisoners.

[2] Olonicus was the chief rebel, according to the Summary.

[3] Less than 35 miles from Rome.

[4] A small stream east of the city.

A.U.C. 584

7 Loracinae duceret. Id opus centum triginta milibus
aeris locasse dicitur; tabulis quoque pictis ex praeda
8 fanum Aesculapi exornavit. Invidiam infamiamque
ab Lucretio averterunt [1] in Hortensium, successorem
eius, Abderitae legati flentes ante curiam queren-
tesque oppidum suum ab Hortensio expugnatum ac
9 direptum esse: causum excidii fuisse urbi, quod, cum
centum milia denarium et tritici quinquaginta milia
modium imperaret,[2] spatium petierint, quo de ea re
et ad Hostilium consulem et Romam mitterent
10 legatos. Vixdum ad consulem se pervenisse et
audisse oppidum expugnatum, principes securi per-
11 cussos, sub corona ceteros venisse.[3] Indigna res
senatui [4] visa, decreveruntque eadem de Abderitis,
quae de Coronaeis [5] decreverant priore anno, ea-
demque pro contione edicere Q. Maenium praetorem
12 iusserunt. Et legati duo, C. Sempronius Blaesus
Sex. Iulius Caesar, ad restituendos in libertatem
13 Abderitas missi. Iisdem mandatum, ut et Hostilio
consuli et Hortensio praetori nuntiarent, senatum [6]
Abderitis iniustum bellum illatum conquirique omnes,

[1] averterunt *Fr*: averterent *V*.
[2] imperaret *Fr*: impetraret *V*.
[3] sub corona ceteros venisse. *Fr*: coronasubceterosvenisseetaudisse *V*.
[4] Indigna res senatui *J. F. Gronovius*: indignesenatui *V*.
[5] quae de Coronaeis *Fr*: quecoroneis *V*.
[6] nuntiarent, senatum *Fr*: nuntiarentsenatununtiarent *V*.

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[1] According to Valerius Maximus I. viii. 2 this temple was earlier than that of Aesculapius at Rome.

[2] Abdera was apparently a free ally of Rome.

[3] This city of Boeotia, an opponent of Rome, cf. XLII. xliv. 4, lxiii. 3, had been severely handled by the consul Licinius, cf. above, sec. 5, and the Summary, also Zonaras 9. 22. Livy's account of the event has been lost, cf. above, p. 13, n. 7.





B.C. 17

cost of his spoils. He is said to have let the contract for this work at one hundred and thirty thousand *asses*; he also decorated with paintings from the booty the temple of Aesculapius.[1] Disapprobation and disgrace were diverted from Lucretius to Hortensius, his successor, by envoys from Abdera,[2] who wept before the senate-house and complained that their city had been stormed and plundered by Hortensius; the reason for the destruction of the city had been, they said, that when the praetor had ordered a hundred thousand *denarii* and fifty thousand pecks of wheat, they had asked for a stay, during which they might send envoys about the matter to the consul Hostilius and to Rome. Hardly had they come to the consul when they heard that their town had been stormed, their leading men beheaded with the axe, and the rest sold at auction. This seemed to the senate a disgraceful occurrence, and they issued the same decree about the people of Abdera which they had issued the preceding year about the people of Coronea,[3] and instructed Quintus Maenius the praetor [4] to make a similar proclamation before an assembly. Furthermore, two envoys, Gaius Sempronius Blaesus and Sextus Julius Caesar, were sent to restore the people of Abdera to freedom. To these same envoys instructions were given to inform both Hostilius the consul and Hortensius the praetor that the senate had resolved that an improper war had been undertaken against the people of Abdera, and that it was just that all who were

[4] Apparently the praetor in charge of aliens (*peregrinus*), since in ch. vi. 10 he receives the Lampsacenes as allies; the city praetor, Marcus Raecius, was absent, cf. below, ix. 6 and the note.

A.U.C. 584 qui in servitute sint, et restitui in libertatem aequum censere.

V. Eodem tempore de C. Cassio, qui consul priore anno fuerat, tum tribunus militum[1] in Macedonia cum A. Hostilio erat, querellae ad senatum delatae sunt, et legati regis Gallorum Cincibili venerunt.[2]
2 Frater eius verba in senatu fecit questus Alpinorum populorum agros, sociorum suorum, depopulatum C. Cassium[3] esse et inde multa milia hominum in
3 servitutem abripuisse. Sub idem[4] tempus Carnorum Histrorumque et Iapydum[5] legati venerunt: duces sibi ab consule Cassio primum imperatos, qui in Macedoniam ducenti exercitum iter monstrarent;
4 pacatum ab se tamquam ad aliud bellum[6] gerendum abisse. Inde ex medio regressum itinere hostiliter peragrasse[7] fines suos; caedes[8] passim rapinasque et incendia facta; nec se ad id locorum scire, propter quam causam consuli pro hostibus fuerint. Et
5 regulo Gallorum absenti et his populis responsum est senatum ea quae facta querantur, neque scisse futura, neque, si sint facta, probare. Sed indicta causa damnari absentem consularem virum iniurium
6 esse, cum is rei publicae causa absit; ubi ex Macedonia redisset C. Cassius, tum, si coram eum arguere

[1] tum tribunus militum *Fr*: cumtribunismilitibus *V*.
[2] venerunt *Fr*: tenuerunt *V*.
[3] depopulatum C. Cassium *Fr*: depopulorumc. cassius *V*.
[4] idem *Kreyssig*: id *V*.
[5] et Iapydum *Fr*: pydum *V*.
[6] aliud bellum *Fr*: aliudidbellum *V*.
[7] ex medio regressum itinere hostiliter peragrasse *Fr*: exmediocregressumhostiliteritinereperagrasse *V*.
[8] caedes *Kreyssig*: duces *V*.





enslaved should be sought out and restored to freedom. B.C. 17[illegible]

V. At this same time complaints were made to the senate about Gaius Cassius, who had been consul the year before and was then a tribune of the soldiers[1] in Macedonia with Aulus Hostilius, and envoys of Cincibilus, a king of the Gauls, arrived. The king's brother spoke before the senate, complaining that Gaius Cassius had ravaged the land of the Alpine tribes, their allies, and had dragged thence into slavery many thousand persons. About the same time envoys of the Carnians, Histrians, and Iapydes arrived; they said, first, that guides had been demanded of them by the consul Cassius, to show him the way as he was leading his army to Macedonia; he had left them peaceably as if to wage a war elsewhere. Next, that returning from the middle of his journey, he had traversed their territory as an enemy; slaughter, pillage and burning had taken place everywhere; nor did they know to that very minute why they had been treated as enemies by the consul. Both to the absent prince of the Gauls and to these peoples the answer was given that the senate neither had known that these occurrences of which they complained would take place nor, if they had taken place, did the senate approve. But to condemn an ex-consul in his absence without a trial would be an injustice, since he was absent in the service of the state; when Gaius Cassius should have returned from Macedonia, then, if they wished

[1] Cassius seems to have obtained this position directly after his consulship, to avoid returning to Rome and giving an account of his hare-brained attempt to reach Macedonia from north Italy (above, ch. i. 4–12).

A.U.C. 584

vellent, cognita re senatum daturum operam uti
7 satisfiat. Nec responderi tantum iis gentibus, sed legatos mitti, duos ad regulum trans Alpis, tres circa eos populos placuit, qui indicarent, quae patrum
8 sententia esset.[1] Munera mitti legatis ex binis milibus aeris censuerunt; duobus fratribus regulis[2] haec praecipua, torques duo ex quinque pondo auri facti et vasa argentea quinque ex viginti pondo et duo equi phalerati cum agasonibus et equestria arma ac sagula,[3] et comitibus eorum vestimenta,
9 liberis servisque. Haec missa; illa petentibus data, ut denorum equorum iis commercium esset educendi-
10 que ex Italia potestas fieret. Legati cum Gallis missi trans Alpis C. Laelius, M. Aemilius Lepidus, ad ceteros populos C. Sicinius, P. Cornelius Blasio, T. Memmius.

VI. Multarum simul Graeciae Asiaeque civitatium
2 legati Romam convenerunt. Primi Athenienses introducti; ii se,[4] quod navium habuerint militumque
3 P. Licinio consuli et C. Lucretio praetori misisse exposuerunt; quibus eos non usos frumenti sibi centum milia imperasse; quod, quamquam sterilem terram ararent,[5] ipsosque etiam agrestis peregrino

[1] esset *Fr*: esse *V*.

[2] duobus fratribus regulis *Fr*: duofratresregulis *V*: fratri reguli *Madvig, recipiunt edd.*: erant duo fratres reguli *Harant.*

[3] arma ac sagula *Fr*: armatautsagula *V*: arma et sagula *Madvig.*

[4] introducti; ii se *Fr*: introductiipse *V*.

[5] ararent *Nipperdey*: arent *V*.

[1] Lepidus was chief of the Senate for the second time, and *pontifex maximus*, cf. XL. li. 1, and below, ch. xv. 6; Laelius was probably the noted friend of Scipio Africanus; this embassy seems then to have been regarded as very important;





to accuse him to his face, on hearing the case the B.C. 170
senate would see to it that amends were made. It was voted not only to make a reply to these peoples, but to send envoys, two to the prince beyond the Alps and three to the several other peoples; the envoys were to announce what the opinion pronounced by the Fathers was. They determined to send to the envoys gifts of two thousand *asses* apiece and to the two princely brothers the following special gifts, two twisted necklaces made of five pounds of gold and five silver vessels of twenty pounds, and two horses with trappings for head and chest, along with their grooms, and cavalry weapons and military cloaks, and to the princes' attendants, both free and slave, garments. These things were sent; the following was granted at their request—that they should have the privilege of buying ten horses apiece and of exporting them from Italy. As envoys there were sent with the Gauls across the Alps Gaius Laelius and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus,[1] and to the other peoples, Gaius Sicinius, Publius Cornelius Blasio, and Titus Memmius.

VI. At the same time envoys from a large number of the states of Greece and Asia gathered in Rome. The Athenians were presented first; they pointed out that they had sent their whole fleet and army to Publius Licinius the consul and Gaius Lucretius the praetor; these officers had not employed their forces, but had ordered a hundred thousand pecks of grain; although they tilled a barren soil and supported even their farmers on imported grain, yet they had

the members of the other embassy are not otherwise known, unless Sicinius was not Gaius, but the Gnaeus Sicinius mentioned in XLII. ix. 8 and elsewhere.

A.U.C. 584
frumento alerent, tamen, ne deessent officio, con-
fecisse; et alia quae imperarentur praestare paratos
4 esse. Milesii nihil, quod[1] praestitissent, memor-
antes, si quid imperare ad bellum senatus vellet
5 praestare se paratos esse polliciti sunt. Alaban-
denses templum Urbis Romae se fecisse commemo-
ravere[2] ludosque anniversarios ei divae instituisse;
6 et coronam auream quinquaginta pondo, quam in
Capitolio ponerent donum Iovi optimo maximo, attu-
lisse et scuta equestria trecenta; ea, cui iussissent,
tradituros. Donum ut in Capitolio ponere et sacri-
7 ficare liceret, petebant. Hoc et[3] Lampsaceni,
8 octoginta pondo coronam afferentes, petebant,
commemorantes discessisse se a Perseo,[4] postquam
Romanus exercitus[5] in Macedoniam venisset, cum
9 sub dicione Persei et ante Philippi fuissent. Pro
eo et quod imperatoribus Romanis omnia praesti-
tissent, id se tantum orare, ut in amicitiam populi

[1] quod *add. Madvig*: *om. V*.
[2] commemoravere *Hertz*: commemorave *V*: commemoraverunt *Fr*.
[3] et *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om. V*: etiam *add. Weissenborn*.
[4] discessisse se a Perseo *Fr*: discessisseeaperseo *V*.
[5] Romanus exercitus *Fr*: romanoexercitu *V*.

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[1] Such a temple had been built by Smyrna in 195 B.C., Tacitus, *Annals* IV. 56. The conception of Rome as a goddess was quite un-Roman; it was invented by Greeks, adopted by Roman poets (*e.g.* Vergil, *Aeneid* VI. 781–7, Lucan, *Pharsalia* I. 186–192), but not officially adopted as part of Roman religion till the reign of Hadrian (Cassius Dio LXIX. 4. 3). The divinity of cities, either personified or represented by their "Fortune," seems like a last freakish form of the





gathered this amount so as not to fail in their duty; B.C. 170
and they were ready to furnish other things too which might be ordered. The Milesians, without mentioning anything which they had furnished, promised that if the senate wished to order anything for the war they were ready to furnish it. The envoys of Alabanda announced that they had built a temple to the City of Rome,[1] and had established annual games in honour of that divinity; they had also brought with them a golden crown of fifty pounds' weight to place in the Capitol as a gift to Jupiter Greatest and Best, besides three hundred cavalry shields; these they would deliver to whomever the senate ordered. They asked permission to place their gift in the Capitol and to offer sacrifice. The same request was also made by the people of Lampsacus, who brought a crown of eighty pounds' weight,[2] and called to mind that they had abandoned Perseus, after a Roman army had come into Macedonia, although they had been subject to Perseus and previously to Philip.[3] In return for this and for their action in furnishing the Roman generals with everything, they asked only that they might be

glorification of the "polis" found in Aristotle (*Politics* I. i. 11: "Thus also the city-state is prior in nature to the household and to each of us individually. For the whole must necessarily be prior to the part. . . ." tr. Rackham, *L.C.L.*).

[2] Perhaps a gift to the goddess Roma, like the similar but more lavish gift of Rhodes when in the bad graces of the Romans (Polybius XXX. 5. 4).

[3] This statement may be inaccurate; Lampsacus declared itself independent of Antiochus in 196 B.C. (XXXIII. xxxviii. 3) and when last heard of (XXXVII. xxxv. 2, 190 B.C.) was apparently recognized as independent; perhaps Livy or his source has assumed that Lampsacus had abandoned Perseus at the time when it came forward as an ally of Rome.

A.U.C. 584 Romani reciperentur, et, si pax cum Perseo fieret, exciperentur, ne in regiam potestatem reciderent.
10 Ceteris legatis comiter responsum; Lampsacenos [1] in sociorum formulam referre Q. Maenius praetor iussus. Munera omnibus in singulos binum milium aeris data. Alabandenses scuta reportare ad A. Hostilium consulem in Macedoniam iussi.
11 Et ex Africa legati simul Carthaginiensium et Masinissae venerunt: legati Carthaginiensium [2] tritici deciens centum milia et hordei quingenta [3] indicantes se ad mare devecta habere, ut, quo senatus
12 censuisset, deportarent; id munus officiumque suum scire minus esse quam pro meritis populi Romani et voluntate sua; sed saepe alias bonis in rebus utriusque populi se gratorum fideliumque socium [4] muneri-
13 bus functos esse. Item Masinissae legati tritici eandem summam polliciti et mille et ducentos equites, duodecim elephantos; et si quid aliud opus esset, uti imperaret senatus: aeque propenso animo et ea [5] et, quae ipse ultro pollicitus sit, praestaturum

[1] comiter responsum; Lampsacenos *Fr*: committerepossumlamsacenos *V*.
[2] et Masinissae venerunt; legati Carthaginiensium *add. H. J. Müller*; *eadem*, legati *omisso*, *Crévier*: *om. V*.
[3] quingenta *Sigonius*: quinquaginta *V*.
[4] populi se gratorum fideliumque socium *Fr*: populisegrecatorumfideliumq. sociumque *V*.
[5] et ea *add. H. J. Müller*: *om. V*.

[1] Apparently they wanted an entente with Rome, without the precise and formal undertakings of an alliance (*societas*). Usually, "friendship" and "alliance" go hand in hand (*e.g.*, XXXVI. iii. 8, XLV. xx. 8), but Rhodes maintained a state of "friendship" without alliance for 140 years (cf. below, XLV. xxv. 7-9) because, in the words of Polybius (XXX. 5. 8, tr. White, *L.C.L.*), "As they wished none of the kings and princes to despair of gaining their help and alliance, they did not desire to run in harness with Rome and engage themselves by oaths and treaties, but preferred to remain unembarrassed and able to reap profit from any quarter"; they sought alliance only when threatened with possible conquest as the alternative.





admitted to friendship [1] with the Roman people, and B.C. 170
that if peace should be made with Perseus, provision should be made for them, to prevent their reverting to the control of the king. A kindly answer was given the other envoys; as for the Lampsacenes, the praetor Quintus Maenius was ordered to enroll them as allies. Gifts of two thousand *asses* apiece were given to all the envoys. Those from Alabanda were ordered to carry the shields back to Aulus Hostilius, the consul in Macedonia.

Envoys from Africa also arrived, both Carthaginians and those of Masinissa together. The Carthaginian envoys reported that they had conveyed to the sea a million pecks of wheat and five hundred thousand of barley, in order that they might deliver it wherever the senate should determine; they said that this gift and act of duty of theirs was, they knew, less than a return for the favours of the Roman people and less than they would wish; but they had often, on other occasions when both peoples had been prospering, fulfilled the duties of grateful and faithful allies. Likewise the envoys of Masinissa promised the same total of wheat as well as twelve hundred cavalry and twelve elephants; [2] they requested the senate to order anything else which might be needed, for the king would furnish such things with as good a will as he gave what he, of his own accord, had

[2] He had previously sent a thousand cavalry, a thousand infantry, and twenty-two elephants (XLII. lxii. 2).

A.U.C. 584 14 esse. Gratiae et Carthaginiensibus et regi actae, rogatique ut ea quae pollicerentur[1] ad Hostilium consulem in Macedoniam deportarent. Legatis in singulos binum milium aeris munera missa.

VII. Cretensium legatis commemorantibus se quantum sibi imperatum a P. Licinio consule esset
2 sagittariorum in Macedoniam misisse, cum interrogati non infitiarentur[2] apud Persea maiorem numerum sagittariorum suorum[3] quam apud Romanos militare,
3 responsum est, si Cretenses bene ac naviter destinarent potiorem populi Romani quam regis Persei
4 amicitiam habere, senatum quoque Romanum iis tamquam certis sociis responsum daturum esse. Interea nuntiarent suis placere senatui dare operam Cretenses, ut quos milites intra praesidia regis Persei haberent eos primo quoque tempore domum revocarent.

5 Cretensibus cum hoc responso dimissis Chalcidenses vocati, quorum legatio ipso introitu movit,[4] quod Micythion,[5] princeps eorum, pedibus captus
6 lectica est introlatus; ultimae necessitatis extemplo visa res, in qua ita affecto excusatio valetudinis aut ne ipsi quidem petenda visa foret aut data petenti
7 non esset. Cum sibi nihil vivi reliquum praeterquam

[1] rogatique ut ea quae pollicerentur *Fr*: rogatiquaeuteaquaeuteaquaepollicerentur *V*.
[2] in Macedoniam misisse, cum interrogati non infitiarentur *Fr*: inmacedoniasemisisset¡cuminfitiatinoninterrogarentur *V*.
[3] suorum *add. Harant*: *om. V*.
[4] introitu movit *H. J. Müller*: introituobit *V*: introitu, ob id *Fr*.
[5] Micythion *Bekker*: micion *V*.

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[1] A force of nearly three thousand is mentioned in XLII. li. 7; they participated in at least one battle (XLII. lviii. 6).





promised. Thanks both to the Carthaginians and to B.C. 170
the king were expressed and they were asked to deliver what they had promised to Hostilius the consul in Macedonia. To each of the envoys a gift of two thousand *asses* was sent.

VII. The Cretan envoys reported that they had sent to Macedonia as large a force of archers as the consul Publius Licinius had stipulated, but when they did not deny, on being questioned, that a larger number of their archers were serving with Perseus[1] than with the Romans, they were told in reply that if the people of Crete intended truly and zealously to prize the friendship of the Roman People above that of King Perseus, the Roman senate would also respond to them as it did to indubitable allies. Meanwhile, let them report to their people that it was the pleasure of the senate that the people of Crete should make a point of recalling home at the first possible moment those soldiers whom they might have within the lines of King Perseus.

After the Cretans had been dismissed with this reply, the envoys of Chalcis were summoned; their embassy stirred sympathy by its very entrance, because Micythion,[2] their chief, having an affliction of the feet, was borne in on a litter; at once the occasion seemed one of direst necessity, in which an excuse on grounds of health for one so afflicted either had seemed to the victim himself something for which he should not ask, or had not been granted at his request. After he had begun by saying that no part of him was still living except the tongue where-

[2] The name is given in the MS. as Micion; but it seems probable that the Romanophile mentioned in XXXV. xxxviii. 1 and l–li is meant.

A.U.C. 584

linguam ad deplorandas patriae suae calamitates praefatus esset, exposuit civitatis primum suae benefacta et vetera et ea, quae Persei bello praesti-
8 tissent ducibus exercitibusque Romanis; tum quae primo C. Lucretius in populares suos praetor Romanus superbe, avare, crudeliter fecisset,[1] deinde quae tum
9 cum maxime L. Hortensius faceret. Quem ad modum omnia sibi, etiam iis, quae patiantur, tristiora, patienda esse ducant potius quam fide decedant,[2] sic, quod ad Lucretium Hortensiumque attineret, scire tutius fuisse claudere portas quam in urbem eos
10 accipere. Qui exclusissent eos, Emathiam, Amphipolim, Maroneam, Aenum incolumes esse. Apud se templa omnibus ornamentis spoliata; compilataque sacrilegiis[3] C. Lucretium navibus Antium devexisse; libera corpora in[4] servitutem abrepta; fortunas sociorum populi Romani direptas esse et cotidie
11 diripi. Nam ex instituto C. Lucreti Hortensium quoque in tectis hieme pariter atque aestate navalis socios habere, et domos suas plenas turba nautica esse; versari inter se, coniuges liberosque suos, quibus nihil neque dicere pensi sit neque facere.[5]

[1] superbe, avare, crudeliter fecisset *Fr*: superavere-crudeliterfecisse *V*.
[2] quam fide decedant *Kreyssig*: quamsinedecedatur *V*: quam fide decedatur *Weissenborn*.
[3] spoliata; compilataque sacrilegiis *Weissenborn*: conpilataspoliataquesacrilegiis *V*: conpilata spoliaque sacrilegis *Gitlbauer*, *rec. Giarratano*; spoliata conpilataque; spolia sacrilegis *Zingerle*; *alia alii*.
[4] libera corpora in *Fr*: liberacorporaliberatain *V*.
[5] sit neque facere *Sigonius*: sinequefacere *V*.





with to bewail the disasters of his fatherland, he set B.C. 170
forth, first, the good services of his state, both in earlier times and those which, during the war with Perseus, they had performed for the Roman commanders and armies, and next the acts of arrogance, greed, and cruelty which in the first instance had been committed against Micythion's fellow-countrymen by Gaius Lucretius the Roman praetor, and, furthermore, were being committed more than ever at that time by Lucius Hortensius. Just as they considered that, rather than depart from their loyalty, they should suffer everything, even more grievous injuries than those which they were now suffering, so also, as far as Lucretius and Hortensius were concerned, they were aware that it would have been safer to bar their gates than to receive those Romans into their city. Those cities which had shut them out—Emathia, Amphipolis, Maronea, Aenus[1] —were unharmed. In Chalcis, temples had been stripped of all their adornments and the loot of these profanations Gaius Lucretius had transported in his ships to Antium; free persons had been rushed away to slavery; the possessions of allies of the Roman people had been plundered and daily were being plundered. For, according to the precedent set by Gaius Lucretius, Hortensius too was quartering his sailors, in summer no less than in winter, in private houses, and the homes of Chalcis were full of the mob from the fleet; at large among the Chalcideans and their wives and their children there were men utterly reckless in word and deed.

[1] The approach to these cities seems to have been during a naval raid like that of Marcius, XLIV. x.

A.U.C. 584

VIII. Accersere in senatum Lucretium placuit, ut
2 disceptaret coram purgaretque sese. Ceterum multo
plura praesens audivit, quam in absentem iacta
erant; et graviores potentioresque accessere accusa-
tores duo tribuni plebis, M'.[1] Iuventius Talna et Cn.
3 Aufidius. Ii non in senatu modo eum lacerarunt,
sed in contionem etiam pertracto multis obiectis
4 probis diem dixerunt. Senatus iussu Chalcidensibus
Q. Maenius praetor respondit, quae bene meritos
sese et ante et in eo bello quod geratur de populo
Romano dicant, ea et scire vera eos referre senatum
5 et perinde ac debeant grata[2] esse. Quae facta a[3]
C. Lucretio fierique ab L.[4] Hortensio praetoribus
Romanis querantur, ea neque facta neque fieri
6 voluntate[5] senatus quem non posse existimare, qui
sciat bellum Persei et ante Philippo, patri[6] eius,
intulisse populum Romanum pro libertate Graeciae,
non ut ea a magistratibus suis socii atque amici[7]
7 paterentur? Litteras se ad L. Hortensium prae-
torem daturos esse, quae Chalcidenses querantur
acta, ea senatui non placere; si qui in servitutem
liberi venissent, ut eos conquirendos[8] primo quoque

[1] tribuni plebis, M' *Sigonius*: tr. pl. m. *V*.
[2] grata *Fr*: gratia *V*.
[3] a *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[4] L. *Fr*: lucretio *V*.
[5] fieri voluntate *Fr*: fievoluntatates *V*.
[6] patri *Fr*: patria *V*.
[7] magistratibus suis socii atque amici *J. F. Gronovius et Duker, qui* suis *addidit,* et *ponens*: magistratibusutsociatqueamici *V*: a magistratibus sociis et amicis *Fr*.
[8] eos conquirendos primo quoque tempore *Fr*: eosconprimoquoquetempore *V*.





VIII. It was voted to summon Lucretius before the senate in order that he might plead in person and attempt to clear himself. However, when he appeared he heard many more reproaches than had been hurled at him in his absence; and more influential and powerful accusers joined in, namely, two tribunes of the people, Manius Iuventius Talna and Gnaeus Aufidius. These not only assailed him in the senate, but also dragged him before an assembly, and after casting many reproaches at him, then set a day for his trial. By order of the senate Quintus Maenius the praetor replied to the envoys of Chalcis that, as to the services to the Roman People, both previously and in the war now being waged, which the envoys mentioned, the senate knew that they had spoken truly and, also, these services were appreciated exactly as they should be. As to their complaints about what the Roman praetor Gaius Lucretius had done, and what Lucius Hortensius the Roman praetor was doing, no one could be unaware that these things had been done and were being done without the consent of the senate,—no one, that is, who knew that the Roman People had declared war on Perseus and previously on Philip, his father, to preserve the freedom of Greece,[1] and not to inflict on allies and friends such injuries from Roman officers. His fellow-senators, said Maenius, would send a letter to the praetor Lucius Hortensius, saying that the senate was displeased with those actions of which the people of Chalcis complained; that if any free persons had been sold into slavery, he should take steps at the first possible moment to search them out B.C. 170

[1] The slogan for Roman intervention to the eastward, cf. XXXIV. lviii. 11–12, XXXVII. liv. 17.

A.U.C. 584 tempore restituendosque in libertatem curaret; sociorum navalium neminem praeter magistros in
8 hospitia deduci aequum censere. Haec Hortensio iussu senatus scripta. Munera binum milium aeris legatis missa et vehicula Micythioni[1] publice locata,
9 quae eum Brundisium commode perveherent. C. Lucretium, ubi dies quae dicta erat venit, tribuni ad populum accusarunt multamque deciens centum
10 milium aeris dixerunt. Comitiis habitis omnes quinque et triginta tribus eum condemnarunt.

IX. In Liguribus eo anno[2] nihil memorabile gestum. Nam nec hostes moverunt arma, neque
2 consul in agrum eorum legiones induxit; et satis explorata pace eius anni milites duarum legionum Romanarum intra dies sexaginta, quam in provin-
3 ciam venit, dimisit. Sociorum nominis Latini exercitu mature in hiberna Lunam et Pisas deducto ipse cum equitibus Galliae provinciae pleraque oppida adiit.

4 Nusquam alibi quam in Macedonia bellum erat. Suspectum tamen[3] Gentium, Illyriorum regem,
5 habebant. Itaque et octo navis ornatas a Brundisio senatus censuit mittendas ad C. Furium legatum

[1] Micythioni *Bekker*: micioni *V*.
[2] anno *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[3] tamen *Hartel*: tā et *V*: tamen et *Fr*.

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[1] In the *comitia tributa*; a few more details in the account of the similar trial, below, xvi. 11–16.

[2] Probably on furlough, subject to further call; the consul would not have formally discharged the army without action by the senate.

[3] Gentius had been suspected of piracy in 180 B.C. (XL. xlii. 2–5, XLII. xxix. 11). Efforts to attach him to the Roman





and restore them to freedom; that the senate B.C. 170 deemed it just that none of the sailors, except the captains, should be quartered in private houses. These instructions were by order of the senate written to Hortensius. Gifts of two thousand *asses* apiece were sent to the envoys, and carriages were hired at public expense for Micythion, to convey him comfortably to Brundisium. As for Gaius Lucretius, on the day set for his trial, the tribunes accused him before the people[1] and proposed a fine of one million *asses*. When the vote was taken, all the thirty-five tribes approved his condemnation.

IX. Among the Ligurians nothing noteworthy was accomplished that year. For neither did the enemy take up arms, nor did the consul lead his legions into enemy territory; and having sufficiently assured himself of peace for that year, he sent home[2] the soldiers of the two Roman legions within sixty days after arriving in his province. After having at an early time led the force of allies of the Latin Name into winter-quarters at Luna and Pisa, he himself visited with the cavalry several towns of the province of Gaul.

Nowhere else was there war except in Macedonia. However, they still regarded Gentius, the king of the Illyrians,[3] with suspicion. And so, on the one hand, the senate decided that eight fully-equipped ships should be sent from Brundisium to Gaius Furius,[4] the staff-officer at Issa, who was in charge of

cause had been misconducted and were valueless (XLII. xxxvii. 2, and xlv. 8). On Perseus' overtures to Gentius, see below, xix. 13–xx. 3, and xxiii. 8.

[4] Very likely the naval *duumvir* mentioned in XLI. i. 2–3, who had been in charge of the north-eastern coast of Italy in 178 B.C.

A.U.C. 584

Issam, qui cum praesidio duarum Issensium navium
6 insulae praeerat—duo milia[1] militum in eas naves sunt imposita, quae M. Raecius praetor ex senatus consulto[2] in ea parte Italiae, quae obiecta Illyrico est, conscripsit —, et consul Hostilius Ap. Claudium in Illyricum cum[3] quattuor milibus peditum misit, ut
7 accolas Illyrici tutaretur.[4] Qui non contentus iis quas adduxerat copiis auxilia ab sociis conrogando ad octo milia hominum ex[5] vario genere armavit peragrataque omni ea regione ad Lychnidum[6] Dassaretiorum consedit.

X. Haud procul inde Uscana oppidum finium imperiique[7] Persei erat. Decem milia civium habebat et modicum custodiae causa Cretensium praesidium.
2 Inde nuntii ad Claudium occulti veniebant, si propius copias admovisset, paratos fore, qui proderent urbem. Et operae pretium esse: non se amicosque tantum,
3 sed etiam milites praeda expleturum. Spes cupiditati[8] admota ita occaecavit animum, ut nec ex

[1] praeerat—duo milia *Fr*: praeerantmiseruntduomilia *V*: *post* praeerat *lacunam statuit Weissenborn.*
[2] imposita, quae M. Raecius praetor ex senatus consulto *Kreyssig*: inpositaq. imreciuspr̄. exsc̄ *V.*
[3] cum *add. Fr*: *om. V.*
[4] Illyrici tutaretur *I. Perizonius*: inlyricitutarentur *V.*
[5] ex *add. Madvig*: *om. V.*
[6] Lychnidum *Sigonius*: lycidinum *V.*
[7] finium imperiique *Harant*: finium plerique *V*: finitimum imperio *Weissenborn*: finium plerumque *Fr.*
[8] Spes cupiditati *Fr*: specupiditatis *V.*

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[1] The number of soldiers to be transported on the ships, which had their own crews, seems too large (cf. XXXVII. ii. 10—a force of three thousand transported in twenty ships (cf. XXII. xxii. 1), XXI. l. 5—1700 soldiers and sailors in 7 ships) and the number of ships should perhaps be larger (eighteen?).





the island with a force of two Issaean ships—two B.C. 170
thousand soldiers were put aboard the eight[1] ships, a force raised, in accordance with a decree of the senate, by Marcus Raecius[2] the praetor, in that part of Italy which faced Illyricum—and, on the other hand, the consul Hostilius sent Appius Claudius into Illyricum with four thousand infantry, to protect the peoples bordering on Illyricum. Claudius, being unsatisfied with the force that he had brought, by collecting auxiliaries from the allies brought under arms about eight thousand men of various sorts, and after traversing all that region took up his position at Lychnidus of the Dassaretii.[3]

X. Not far from there lay Uscana, a town belonging to the lands and realm of Perseus.[4] It had ten thousand inhabitants and a moderate garrison of Cretans to protect it. From there, secret messengers kept coming to Claudius, declaring that if he would bring his troops up closer, there were those who were ready to betray the city. And it would be worth his while, they added, for he would not only satisfy himself and his friends, but also his soldiers with the booty. Hope joined to greed so blinded his mind

[2] The city praetor, cf. below, xi. 4; he was evidently absent from Rome on coast-defence duty, hence the appearance of Maenius (above, iv. 11, and viii. 4) as presiding officer of the senate.
[3] Garrisons had been placed in their territory the preceding year, XLII. xxxvi. 9.
[4] But below, xviii. 5–xxi. 1, Livy relates, presumably after Polybius, that Uscana was held by a Roman garrison until captured by Perseus, and that Lucius Coelius led an abortive attempt to recover it. There seems to be a duplication of the story here, of which Livy is unaware; the account here given presumably comes from a Roman source.

A.U.C. 584
iis qui[1] venerant[2] quemquam retineret nec obsides,
pignus futuros afore fraudem[3] agendae rei, posceret
nec mitteret exploratum nec fidem acciperet. Die
tantum statuta profectus a Lychnido duodecim milia
4 ab urbe ad quam tendebat posuit castra. Quarta
inde vigilia signa movit mille ferme ad praesidium
castrorum relictus. Incompositi, longo agmine effusi,
infrequentes, cum nocturnus error dissiparet, ad
5 urbem pervenerunt. Crevit neglegentia postquam
neminem armatum in muris viderunt. Ceterum, ubi
primum sub ictu[4] teli fuerunt, duabus simul portis
erumpitur; et ad clamorem erumpentium ingens
strepitus e muris[5] ortus ululantium mulierum cum
crepitu undique aeris, et incondita multitudo turba
6 inmixta servili variis vocibus personabat. Hic tam
multiplex undique obiectus terror effecit, ne
sustinere primam procellam eruptionis Romani
possent. Itaque fugientes plures quam pugnantes
interempti sunt; vix duo milia hominum cum ipso
7 legato in castra perfugerunt. Quo longius iter in
castra erat, eo pluris fessos consectandi hostibus copia
8 fuit. Ne moratus quidem in castris Appius, ut suos
dissipatos fuga colligeret, quae res palatis per agros
saluti fuisset, ad Lychnidum protinus reliquias
cladis reduxit.

[1] ut nec ex iis qui *Fr* : necutisqui *V*.
[2] venerant *J. F. Gronovius* : venerunt *V*.
[3] afore fraudem *Bekker* : aforoetfraudem *V*.
[4] ictu *Drakenborch* : iectu *V* : iactu *Fr*.
[5] strepitus e muris *Fr* : strepitusqueemuris *V* : strepitus tumultusque e muris *H. J. Müller*.





B.C. 170

that neither did he keep with him any of the messengers who had come, nor did he demand hostages as security that there would be no treachery in the carrying out of the plan, nor did he send men to reconnoitre, nor did he receive any solemn promise. Having merely agreed upon a day, he set out from Lychnidus and pitched camp twelve miles from the city to which he was marching. Thence in the fourth watch he began to advance, leaving about a thousand to garrison the camp. The soldiers arrived near the city in disorder, scattered in a long column, and straggling, since wandering by night had dispersed them. Their carelessness increased after they saw no armed man on the walls. However, as soon as they were within range of missiles, a sally was made from two gates at once; and together with the battle-cry of the sallying parties, there arose from the walls a great uproar of women howling and of bronze clashing everywhere, while an unorganized crowd, with disorderly bands of slaves amongst them, clamoured with various outcries. This appalling surprise, presented from all directions in so many forms, brought it about that the Romans could not withstand the first storm-blast of the sally. And so more were slaughtered in the flight than in the combat; hardly two thousand men, together with the commander himself, escaped to the camp. Since the way to the camp was long, the enemy had the opportunity to overtake more of the weary men. Appius, not even lingering in camp to gather his men scattered in flight—an action which would have been the means of saving those who were wandering through the countryside—at once led back to Lychnidus the remnants of the disaster.

A.U.C. 584

XI. Haec et alia haud prospere in Macedonia gesta
ex Sex. Digitio tribuno militum, qui sacrificii [1]
2 causa Romam venerat, sunt audita. Propter quae
veriti patres ne qua maior [2] ignominia acciperetur
legatos in Macedoniam M. Fulvium [3] Flaccum et
M. Caninium Rebilum miserunt, qui comperta [4] quae
3 agerentur referrent; et ut A. Atilius consul comitia
consulibus rogandis ita ediceret, uti mense Ianuario
confici [5] possent, et ut primo quoque tempore in
4 urbem rediret. Interim M. Raecio praetori man-
datum, ut edicto senatores omnes ex tota Italia, nisi
qui rei publicae causa abessent, Romam revocaret:
5 qui Romae essent, ne quis ultra mille passuum ab
Roma abesset. Ea, uti senatus censuit, sunt facta.
6 Comitia consularia ante diem quintum [6] kal. Febr.[7]
fuere. Creati consules sunt Q. Marcius Philippus
7 iterum et Cn.[8] Servilius Caepio. Post diem tertium
praetores sunt facti C.[9] Decimius, M. Claudius
Marcellus, C. Sulpicius Gallus, C. Marcius Figulus,
8 Ser.[10] Cornelius Lentulus, P. Fonteius Capito. Desig-
natis praetoribus praeter duas urbanas quattuor

[1] ex Sex. Digitio tribuno militum qui sacrificii *Fr*: exdigitiosextopř. miliaquisacrificiis *V*.
[2] ne qua maior *A. Perizonius*: nequemaior *V*: ne quae maior *Fr*.
[3] Fulvium *Fr*[2]: Furium *V*.
[4] qui comperta *Fr*: quaecumconperta *V*.
[5] confici *Madvig*: comitia *V*: comitia haberi *Fr*.
[6] ante diem quintum *Sigonius*: ad. u *V*.
[7] Febr. *Pighius*: sep. *V*.
[8] Cn. *Sigonius*: q. *V*.
[9] C. *Sigonius*: m. *V*.
[10] Ser. *Fr*[2]: serg. *V*.

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[1] A similar, but even stricter, emergency measure is recorded in XXXVI. iii. 3 (191 B.C.), just before the campaigns against Antiochus.

[2] His previous consulship was in 186 B.C., cf. XXXIX. viii





XI. This and other affairs in Macedonia conducted with no success were reported by Sextus Digitius, a tribune of the soldiers, who had come to Rome to offer a sacrifice. The result was that the Fathers, solicitous lest some greater disgrace might befall, sent as commissioners to Macedonia Marcus Fulvius Flaccus and Marcus Caninius Rebilus, who were to report after investigation on what was taking place; the Fathers also decided that Aulus Atilius the consul should proclaim the assembly for the election of consuls for such a time that it might be completed during the month of January, and that he should return to the city at the first possible moment. Meanwhile Marcus Raecius the praetor was charged with recalling to Rome by proclamation all senators from the whole of Italy, except those who were absent on public business, while those who were in Rome were not to go more than a mile away from Rome.[1] These matters were carried out as the senate voted. The consular elections were held on the twenty-sixth of January. The consuls elected were Quintus Marcius Philippus for the second time [2] and Gnaeus Servilius Caepio. Two days later there were elected as praetors Gaius Decimius, Marcus Claudius Marcellus.[3] Gaius Sulpicius Gallus, Gaius Marcius Figulus, Servius Cornelius Lentulus, Publius Fonteius Capito. For the praetors-elect four assign- B.C. 170

ff.; he had been envoy to Greece and to Perseus just before the outbreak of the war, XLII. xxxviii–xlvii.

[3] He was tribune in 171 B.C. (XLII. xxxii. 7), going out of office on December 9th of that year; the interval of a year and three months was apparently regularly regarded as fulfilling the requirement of two years which, according to the Lex Villia Annalis (XL. xliv. 1), cf. Cicero, *Philippics* 5, 17, *de Legibus* 3, 3, had to elapse between two terms in office.

A.U.C. 584 provinciae sunt decretae: Hispania et Sardinia et Sicilia et classis.

9 Legati ex Macedonia exacto admodum mense Februario redierunt. Hi quas res ea aestate prospere gessisset rex Perseus referebant, quantusque timor socios populi Romani cepisset tot urbibus in potes-
10 tatem regis redactis. Exercitum consulis infrequentem commeatibus vulgo datis per ambitionem esse; culpam eius rei consulem in tribunos militum,
11 contra illos in consulem[1] conferre. Ignominiam Claudi temeritate acceptam elevare eos patres acceperunt,[2] qui perpaucos Italici generis et magna ex parte[3] tumultuario dilectu conscriptos ibi milites
12 amissos referebant. Consules designati ubi primum magistratum inissent, de Macedonia referre ad senatum iussi; destinataeque provinciae iis sunt Italia et Macedonia.

13 Hoc anno intercalatum est: tertio die post Terminalia kalendae intercalariae[4] fuere. Sacerdotes intra eum annum mortui sunt[5] L. Flamininus . . .[6] pontifices duo decesserunt, L. Furius Philus et C.

[1] intribunosmilitumcontraillosinconsulem *bis V*.

[2] *Displicet* acceperunt *editoribus*; *itaque* perceperunt *proposuit Brakman*, accusaverunt, quia, *Hartel*: laeti acceperunt quippe, *Weissenborn*: elevare eo patres acceperunt, quod *Madvig*.

[3] ex parte *add. Fr*: *om. V*.

[4] intercalariae *Weissenborn*: intercalaria *V*: intercalares *Fr*.

[5] mortui sunt *Hertz et Wesenberg*: mortuus est *V*: mortui *Fr*: inter sacerdotes eo anno mortuus est *L. T. Gronovius*.

[6] Flamininus *Sigonius*, augur *ex* XXV. ii. 2 *addens*: Flaminius *V*: *Crévier et Duker etiam nomen successoris excidisse putaverunt*.

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[1] The text is uncertain here; other interpretations proposed by scholars include, "The Fathers accused the commissioners





ments besides the two in the city were decreed: B.C. 170
Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and the fleet.

The commissioners from Macedonia returned when the month of February was just ended. These reported the successes achieved by King Perseus during that summer, and how great a panic had seized the allies of the Roman people when so many cities were brought under the control of the king. The army of the consul, said the commissioners, was reduced in numbers because leaves of absence had been lavishly granted as a means of currying political favour; blame for this situation was placed by the consul on the tribunes of the soldiers, but by them, on the other hand, on the consul. The Fathers took it that[1] the commissioners were minimizing the disgrace inflicted by the rashness of Claudius, since they reported that very few soldiers of Italian stock, but chiefly those enrolled on the spot in an irregular levy, had been lost. The consuls-elect were ordered to present to the senate, as soon as they entered upon their office, the problem of Macedonia; and Italy and Macedonia were designated as their provinces.

In this year there was an intercalation; the additional month began on the third day after the Terminalia.[2] There died of the priests in that year Lucius Flamininus . . .[3] two pontiffs passed away, Lucius Furius Philus and Gaius Livius Salinator.

of minimizing . . . because they reported," and, "The Fathers were glad to hear the commissioners minimize . . ." (see critical note).

[2] See appendix following this Book, pp. 87–88.

[3] The priesthood held by Flamininus and the name of his successor are missing; he was probably the augur elected in 213 B.C., XXV. ii. 2.

A.U.C. 584 Livius Salinator. In locum Furii T. Manlium Torquatum, in Livi M. Servilium pontifices legerunt.

A.U.C. 585 XII. Principio insequentis anni cum consules novi Q. Marcius et Cn.[1] Servilius de provinciis rettulissent, primo quoque tempore aut comparare eos inter se
2 Italiam et Macedoniam aut sortiri placuit; priusquam id sors cerneret,[2] in incertum, ne quid gratia momenti faceret, in utramque provinciam quod res desideraret
3 supplementi decerni[3] — in Macedoniam peditum Romanorum sex milia, sociorum nominis Latini sex milia, equites Romanos ducentos quinquaginta, socios
4 trecentos — veteres milites dimitti, ita ut in singulas Romanas legiones ne plus sena milia peditum,
5 treceni equites essent. Alteri consuli nullus[4] certus[5] finitus numerus civium Romanorum quem in supplementum legeret. Id modo finitum, ut duas legiones scriberet, quae quina milia peditum et ducenos[6]
6 haberent, equites trecenos. Latinorum maior quam collegae decretus numerus, peditum[7] decem milia et sescenti equites. Quattuor praeterea legiones scribi iussae, quae si quo opus esset educerentur.
7 Tribunos iis non permissum ut consules facerent: populus creavit. Sociis nominis Latini sedecim milia

[1] Cn. *Sigonius*: q. *V*.
[2] cerneret *Fr*: cernens *V*.
[3] *post* decerni—decreverunt *add. Madvig*, decernunt *H. J. Müller*.
[4] nullus *Fr*: nulli *V*.
[5] certus *ut glossema delere vult Warmington, homoeoteleuta spernens*.
[6] ducenos *Fr*: ducentenos *V*.
[7] peditum *J. F. Gronovius*: peditum Latinorum *V*.

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[1] Probably a praetor of this year.
[2] Below, XLIV. i. 1, the figure of 5000 (perhaps incomplete) is given, presumably following Polybius. The figures here





In place of Furius the pontiffs chose Titus Manlius B.C. 170 Torquatus,[1] in place of Livius, Marcus Servilius.

XII. At the beginning of the following year, when B.C. 169 the new consuls Quintus Marcius and Gnaeus Servilius put the question of provinces, it was voted that at the first possible moment they should either arrange with each other or draw lots for Italy and Macedonia; before the lot should decide this question, while it was still in doubt, so that favouritism should have no weight, it was voted to decree for each province the reinforcements called for by the situation—for Macedonia, of infantry, six thousand Romans,[2] and six thousand allies of the Latin Name, of cavalry, two hundred and fifty Romans and three hundred allies—also to discharge old soldiers so that there should be in each Roman legion not more than six thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry. For the other consul no fixed number of Roman citizens whom he might select as reinforcements was defined. This only was fixed that he should enroll two legions, each of which was to have five thousand and two hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry. Of the Latins, a larger number was assigned than to his colleague, ten thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry. Four additional legions were ordered enrolled, to be led out if needed anywhere. For these, the consuls were not allowed[3] to appoint tribunes; the people elected them. On the allies of the Latin Name sixteen thousand

would seem then to come from an exaggerating Roman source.
[3] Presumably by the senate (cf. XLIV. xxi. 2), or by the people on motion of the senate (XLII. xxxi. 5).

A.U.C. 585

8 peditum et mille equites imperati. Hunc exercitum parari tantum placuit, ut exiret, si quo res posceret.
9 Macedonia maxime curam praebebat. In classem mille socii [1] navales cives Romani libertini ordinis, ex Italia quingenti [2] scribi iussi; totidem ut ex Sicilia scriberentur; et cui ea provincia evenisset, mandatum, ut eos in Macedoniam, ubicumque classis [3]
10 esset, deportandos curaret. In Hispaniam tria milia peditum Romanorum in supplementum, trecenti equites decreti. Finitus ibi quoque in legiones militum numerus, peditum quina milia duceni et
11 treceni [4] equites. Et sociis imperare praetor, cui Hispania obvenisset, iussus quattuor milia peditum et trecentos equites.

XIII. Non sum nescius ab eadem neglegentia qua nihil deos portendere vulgo nunc credant, neque nuntiari admodum ulla [5] prodigia in publicum
2 neque [6] in annales referri. Ceterum et mihi vetustas res scribenti [7] nescio quo pacto antiquus fit animus et quaedam religio tenet, quae illi prudentissimi viri publice suscipienda censuerint, ea pro indignis [8]
3 habere, quae in meos annales referam. Anagnia duo prodigia eo anno sunt nuntiata, facem in caelo

[1] mille socii *Fr*: curaillesocii *V*.
[2] quingenti *add. Kreyssig*: *om. V*.
[3] classis *Fr*: cladis *V*.
[4] duceni et treceni *Drakenborch*: treceniet XXX *V*.
[5] ulla *J. F. Gronovius*: nulla *V*.
[6] publicum neque *Fr*: publicumque *V*.
[7] res scribenti *Fr*: rescribenti *V*.
[8] indignis *Crévier*: dignis *V*.

[1] On the decline of religion and scruple, cf. III. xx. 5 and X. xl. 10, and the note; restoration of former religious





infantry and a thousand cavalry were levied. It was B.C. 169
voted that this force should merely be got ready so as to march out if circumstances anywhere should demand. Macedonia was especially an object of concern. For the fleet, a thousand sailors, Roman citizens of the class of freedmen, and five hundred from Italy, were ordered enrolled; as many were to be enrolled from Sicily, and the governor-to-be of that province was instructed to see to their transportation to Macedonia, wherever the fleet might be. For Spain, three thousand Roman infantry and three hundred cavalry were decreed as reinforcement. The number of soldiers for the legions was fixed for that region also—five thousand and two hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry for each legion. The praetor to whom Spain should fall, was ordered to levy from the allies also four thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry.

XIII. I am not unaware that, as a result of the same disregard [1] that leads men generally to suppose nowadays that the gods foretell nothing, no portents at all are reported officially, or recorded in our histories. However, not only does my own mind, as I write of old-time matters, become in some way or other old-fashioned, but also a certain conscientious scruple keeps me from regarding what those very sagacious men of former times thought worthy of public concern as something unworthy to be reported in my history. At Anagnia, two portents were announced in that year, a fiery meteor seen in

observances was one of the objectives of Augustus, and he served on several priestly boards. Prodigies were noted in later times (cf. *e.g.*, Tacitus, *Annals* XIII. lviii; XIV. xii; Suetonius, *Gaius* lvii) if not officially reported.

A.U.C. 585 conspectam et bovem feminam locutam; eam[1]
publice ali. Minturnis[2] quoque per eos dies caeli
4 ardentis species affulserat. Reate imbri lapidavit.
Cumis in arce Apollo triduum ac tris noctes lacrimavit.
In urbe Romana duo aeditui nuntiarunt, alter in
aede Fortunae anguem iubatum a compluribus
5 visum esse, alter in aede Primigeniae[3] Fortunae quae
in colle est duo diversa prodigia, palmam in area
6 enatam[4] et sanguine interdiu pluvisse. Duo non
suscepta prodigia sunt, alterum quod in privato loco
factum esset, — palmam enatam in[5] impluvio suo
T. Marcius Figulus nuntiabat — alterum quod in loco
peregrino: Fregellis in domo L. Atrei hasta, quam
filio militi emerat, interdiu plus duas horas arsisse ita
7 ut nihil eius ambureret ignis, dicebatur. Publicorum
prodigiorum causa libri a decemviris aditi: quadraginta
maioribus hostiis quibus diis consules sacri-
8 ficarent ediderunt, et uti supplicatio[6] fieret cunctique
magistratus circa omnia pulvinaria victimis maioribus

[1] eam *add. Hullemann*: *om. V.*
[2] Minturnis *Fr*: mentumis *V.*
[3] alter in aede Primigeniae *J. F. Gronovius*: alternaedeprimigenae *V.*
[4] quae in colle est duo diversa prodigia, palmam in area enatam *Fr*: quaeincolleestduodiversaprodigiaquaeincolleçpalmaminaerenatam *V.*
[5] in *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om. V.*
[6] ediderunt et uti supplicatio *J. F. Gronovius*: etutdideruntutisuplicatio *V.*

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[1] *I.e.*, the Quirinal, as distinguished from another temple on the Capitol.

[2] This was an ornamental basin in the floor at the centre of the atrium, or principal room, which caught rain entering through the central opening of the roof (*compluvium*).





the sky, and a cow which spoke; this animal, the B.C. 169
report stated, was being kept at public expense. At Minturnae also during these very days the sky presented the appearance of being on fire. At Reate there was a rain of stones. At Cumae the Apollo on the citadel shed tears for three days and three nights. In the city of Rome two temple-attendants announced portents; one, that a crested snake had been seen by many people in the temple of Fortune; the other announced two different portents in the temple of Fortune the First-Born which is on the hill,[1] that a palm had sprung up in the courtyard and that during the day blood had rained down. Two portents were not treated as public matters, the one because it took place in a privately-owned spot—Titus Marcius Figulus reported that a palm had sprung up in his catch-basin[2]—the other because it occurred in a non-Roman place[3]—at Fregellae, in the house of Lucius Atreus, a spear which he had bought for his son's service in the army was said to have blazed during the day for more than two hours in such a way that the fire consumed none of it. Because of the public portents the books were approached by the Board of Ten; they proclaimed the gods to whom the consuls were to offer forty full-grown victims, and also that a day of prayer should be observed, that all the magistrates should sacrifice full-grown victims at all the

[3] Fregellae was a Latin colony, therefore legally autonomous, and its territory not Roman; Minturnae was a Roman colony, hence part of Rome; Anagnia was either subject territory, or its inhabitants had been granted Roman citizenship; Cumae and Reate were "allied states" (*civitates foederatae*), but their territory was evidently regarded as part of the Roman domain (*ager publicus*).

A.U.C. 585

sacrificarent populusque coronatus esset. Omnia uti decemviri praeierunt facta.

XIV. Censoribus deinde creandis comitia edicta sunt. Petierunt censuram principes civitatis, C. Valerius Laevinus, L. Postumius Albinus, P. Mucius Scaevola, M.[1] Iunius Brutus, C. Claudius Pulcher, T. Sempronius Gracchus. Hos duos censores creavit
2 populus Romanus. Cum dilectus habendi maior quam alias propter Macedonicum bellum cura esset,[2] consules plebem apud senatum accusabant quod et [3]
3 iuniores non responderent. Adversus quos C. Sulpicius et M. Claudius praetores plebis causam egerunt: non consulibus, sed ambitiosis consulibus dilectum difficilem esse; neminem invitum militem
4 ab iis fieri. Id ut ita [4] esse scirent et patres conscripti, praetores se,[5] quibus vis imperii minor et auctoritas esset, dilectum, si ita senatui videretur,
5 perfecturos esse. Id praetoribus magna patrum approbatione,[6] non sine suggillatione consulum mandatum est. Censores, ut eam rem adiuvarent, ita in contione edixerunt:[7] legem censui censendo

[1] M. *Sigonius*: C. *V*.
[2] Macedonicum bellum cura esset *Fr*: macedonicibellicuramesse *V*.
[3] et *del. edd., J. F. Gronovius sequentes*; *at, ut monuit Drakenborch, cf.* XLII. xxxii. 5.
[4] ita *Kreyssig*: itaut *V*.
[5] se *Harant*: et *V*: et *post* quibus *posuit Fr*.
[6] approbatione *add. Kreyssig*: *om. V*.
[7] contione edixerunt *Fr*: contionem eduxerunt *V*.

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[1] Probably of laurel; wreath-wearing was a mark of especially earnest supplication in time of emergency, cf. XXXIV. lv. 4, XXXVI. xxxvii. 5, XL. xxxvii. 3.

[2] This word is usually omitted by editors, on the ground that of the whole citizen-army only men of military age (the *iuniores*, 17–46 years old) were involved in the levy; but for the Macedonian campaign, older men (the *seniores*, 47–60 years old) also were drafted or volunteered, cf. XLII. xxxi. 4 and xxxii. 6.





principal temples and that the people should wear wreaths.[1] Everything was carried out as the Board of Ten prescribed. B.C. 169

XIV. Thereupon the assembly for electing censors was announced. The leading men of the state sought the censorship, Gaius Valerius Laevinus, Lucius Postumius Albinus, Publius Mucius Scaevola, Marcus Junius Brutus, Gaius Claudius Pulcher, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. The last two were elected censors by the Roman people. Since concern over holding the levy was greater, because of the Macedonian war, than at other times, the consuls blamed the commons before the senate because even [2] the men of military age were not presenting themselves. Retorting to them Gaius Sulpicius and Marcus Claudius the praetors pleaded the cause of the commons; the levy, they said, was difficult, not for consuls, but for politically-minded consuls; they never enrolled a soldier against his will. That the Conscript Fathers might also be sure that this was so, they themselves, though praetors, whose powers of office and importance were less, would, if it seemed best to the senate, complete the levy.[3] This task was entrusted to the praetors with great enthusiasm on the part of the Fathers, not without jeers at the consuls. The censors, to further the business, made the following proclamation before a meeting; that they were going to lay down a rule for taking the

[3] Conduct of a levy by praetors when the consuls were otherwise occupied was not without precedent, cf. XXXIX. xx. 4, xxxviii. 10; XLII. xviii. 6; but the supplanting of the consuls was peculiar to this occasion.

A.U.C. 585
dicturos esse, ut praeter commune omnium civium
6 ius iurandum haec adiurarent: "tu minor annis sex
et quadraginta es tuque[1] ex edicto C. Claudi Ti.
Semproni censorum ad dilectum prodisti[2] et quoti-
enscumque dilectus erit quoad[3] hi censores magis-
tratum habebunt, si miles factus non eris, in dilec-
7 tum[4] prodibis[5]?" item, quia fama erat multos ex
Macedonicis legionibus incertis commeatibus per
ambitionem imperatorum ab exercitu abesse, edix-
erunt de militibus P. Aelio C. Popilio[6] consulibus
8 postve eos consules in Macedoniam scriptis, ut qui
eorum in[7] Italia essent intra dies triginta, censi[8]
prius apud sese, in provinciam redirent; qui in patris
aut avi potestate essent, eorum nomina ad se ederen-
9 tur.[9] Missorum quoque causas sese cognituros
esse; et quorum ante emerita stipendia gratiosa
10 missio sibi visa esset, eos milites fieri iussuros. Hoc
edicto litterisque censorum per fora et conciliabula
dimissis tanta multitudo iuniorum Romam convenit,
ut gravis urbi turba insolita esset.

[1] es tuque *Fr*: estusque *V*.
[2] prodisti *Madvig*: proditi *V*: prodito *Fr*: prodibis *Duker*.
[3] quoad *Harant*: quae *V*: quamdiu *Weissenborn*: cum *Madvig post Ursinum*: quando *Goldbacher*.
[4] delectum (*sic*) *Sigonius*: dilectu *V*.
[5] prodibis *Fr*: providebis *V*.
[6] C. Popilio *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[7] eorum in *Fr*: eorumquiin *V*.
[8] censi *Fr*: cons. *V*.
[9] nomina ad se ederentur *Fr*: nomine adsederentur *V*.

[1] Either for a year and a half, during which the censors were allowed to be active, by the Aemilian law (434 B.C., IV. xxiv. 5, cf. IX. xxxiii. 3 ff.), or for three years, as the censors' authority over construction and repairs was, according to XLV. xv. 9, customarily continued for a second period of equal length; hardly for the full five years till other censors were chosen.





census that, besides the general oath for all citizens, B.C. 169 they would require assent on oath to the following: "Are you less than forty-six years of age, and have you, in accordance with the proclamation of Gaius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius the censors, come forward for the levy, and as often as there shall be a levy, as long as these censors shall hold office,[1] if you have not entered the army, will you come forward for the levy?"; again, since it was rumoured that many were absent on leave from the legions in Macedonia without specific reason because of the popularity-hunting of the generals, they proclaimed concerning the soldiers enrolled for Macedonia in the consulship of Publius Aelius and Gaius Popilius[2] or after that consulship, that whoever of them were in Italy should within thirty days, having first appeared before the censors, return to their province, and that the names of those who were subject to the authority of father or grandfather[3] should be reported to the censors. They would also review, they said, the reasons for discharges, and those whose discharge before completion of their military service seemed to the censors to result from indulgence they would order to be enrolled as soldiers. Through this proclamation of the censors, and through their letters sent about throughout the markets and hamlets, so large a crowd of men of military age assembled at Rome that the unusual throng was burdensome to the city.

[2] 172 B.C.; a small force crossed over to the towns of the west coast in that year, cf. XLII. xxvii.
[3] Such men would not appear before the censors, as their property belonged to the estate of their controlling relative.

A.U.C. 585

XV. Praeter dilectum eorum quos in supplementum mitti oportebat quattuor a C. Sulpicio praetore scriptae legiones sunt, intraque undecim
2 dies dilectus est perfectus. Consules deinde sortiti provincias sunt. Nam praetores propter iurisdic-
3 tionem maturius sortiti erant. Urbana C. Sulpicio, peregrina C. Decimio obtigerat; Hispaniam M. Claudius Marcellus, Siciliam Ser. Cornelius Lentulus, Sardiniam P. Fonteius Capito, classem C. Marcius Figulus erat sortitus. Consulum Cn. Servilio Italia, Q. Marcio Macedonia obvenit; Latinisque actis
4 Marcius extemplo est profectus. Caepione deinde referente ad senatum, quas ex novis legionibus duas legiones secum in Galliam duceret, decrevere patres ut C. Sulpicius M. Claudius praetores ex iis quas scripsissent legionibus quas videretur consuli darent.
5 Indigne patiens [1] praetorum arbitrio consulem subiectum, dimisso senatu [2] ad tribunal praetorum stans postulavit, ex senatus consulto destinarent sibi duas legiones. Praetores consulis in eligendo [3] arbitrium fecerunt.

6 Senatum deinde censores legerunt: M. Aemilius Lepidus princeps ab tertiis iam censoribus lectus.
7 Septem de senatu eiecti sunt.[4] In censu accipiendo populi milites ex Macedonico exercitu, qui quam multi abessent ab signis census docuit, in provinciam

[1] patiens *J. F. Gronovius*: patiente *V*.
[2] subiectum, dimisso senatu *Fr*: subdectumdemissosenon *V*.
[3] consulis in eligendo *J. F. Gronovius*: consulinelegando *V*.
[4] lectus. Septem de senatu eiecti sunt *Novák*: lectuseptemensenatuelectisunt *V*: e senatu *Fr*.

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[1] His previous elections are recorded in XL. li. 1 and XLI. xxvii. 1.





XV. Besides the levy of those who were needed to be sent as reinforcements four legions were enrolled by Gaius Sulpicius the praetor, and within eleven days the levy was completed. The consuls then drew lots for their provinces. For the praetors had drawn lots more promptly to secure the administration of justice. The city praetorship fell to Gaius Sulpicius, the jurisdiction over aliens to Gaius Decimius; Spain was drawn by Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Sicily by Servius Cornelius Lentulus, Sardinia by Publius Fonteius Capito, the fleet by Gaius Marcius Figulus. Of the consuls, Italy fell to Gnaeus Servilius, and Macedonia to Quintus Marcius; when the Latin Festival had been held, Marcius at once set out. When Caepio then consulted the senate as to which two of the new legions he should take with him to Gaul, the Fathers voted that Gaius Sulpicius and Marcus Claudius the praetors should give the consul what legions they chose from those they had enrolled. Feeling insulted that a consul should be subject to the decision of praetors, Servilius dismissed the senate and, taking his stand at the judgment-seat of the praetors, demanded that, in accordance with the decree of the senate, they assign him two legions. The praetors gave the consul his choice in the selection. B.C. 169

Thereupon the censors chose the senate; Marcus Aemilius Lepidus was chosen chief. This was the third time the censors had chosen him.[1] Seven were expelled from the senate. In receiving the census of the people they forced the soldiers from the army in Macedonia—the census showed how numerous were these absentees from the ranks—to

A.U.C. 585

8 redire[1] cogebant; causas de[2] stipendiis missorum cognoscebant, et cuius nondum iusta missio visa esset, ita iusiurandum adigebant: "ex tui animi sententia, tu ex edicto C. Claudi Ti. Semproni censorum[3] in provinciam Macedoniam redibis, quod sine dolo malo facere poteris?"

XVI. In equitibus recensendis tristis admodum eorum atque aspera censura fuit: multis equos
2 ademerunt. In ea re cum equestrem ordinem offendissent, flammam invidiae adiecere edicto, quo edixerunt, ne quis eorum qui Q. Fulvio A. Postumio censoribus publica vectigalia aut ultro tributa conduxissent ad hastam suam accederet sociusve aut
3 adfinis eius conditionis esset. Saepe id querendo veteres publicani cum impetrare nequissent ab senatu ut modum potestati censoriae imponerent, tandem tribunum plebis P. Rutilium,[4] ex rei privatae contentione iratum censoribus, patronum causae nancti
4 sunt. Clientem eius[5] libertinum parietem in Sacra via adversus aedes publicas demoliri iusserant, quod
5 publico inaedificatus esset. Appellati a privato tribuni. Cum praeter Rutilium nemo intercederet,

[1] redire *add. Kreyssig*: *om. V.*
[2] de *add. Hartel*: *om. V.*
[3] censorum *Fr*: cēsoriam *V.*
[4] tribunum plebis P. Rutilium *Sigonius*: tr̄. pl. utilium *V.*
[5] eius *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om. V.*

[1] The previous censors, XLI. xxvii.
[2] Literally, "to their spear," since a spear was the sign of an auction; at the censors' auction contracts for public works and for collecting the revenues were to be made, cf. XXXIX. xliv. 8 and the note.





return to their province; they reviewed the excuses B.C. 169 of those discharged from service, and in the case of any whose discharge seemed premature they compelled assent on oath to the following: "With your whole heart will you, in accordance with the decree of Gaius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius the censors, return to the province of Macedonia, as you are able, in all sincerity, to do this?"

XVI. In reviewing the knights, the censorship of these officials was rather stern and harsh; they deprived many of their horses. When in this matter they had offended the order of knights, they added fire to the grudge by a proclamation, in which they proclaimed that none of those who in the censorship of Quintus Fulvius and Aulus Postumius[1] had farmed the public revenues or the public works should appear at the auction of Claudius and Sempronius,[2] or should be a partner or sharer in the contracting. When, after many complaints about this decree, the veteran tax-gatherers were unable to induce the senate to set a limit to the censors' power,[3] at last in a tribune of the people, Publius Rutilius, who was angry with the censors over a dispute concerning a private matter, they found an advocate for their cause. A freedman client of Rutilius had been ordered by the censors to pull down a house-wall on the Sacred Way opposite the public temples, because the wall was built on state land. An appeal was made by the citizen to the tribunes. When no one but Rutilius intervened in his behalf, the censors

[3] Compare the Pyrrhic victory of the contractors in 184 B.C., XXXIX. xliv. 8.

A.U.C. 585 censores ad pignera capienda miserunt multamque
6 pro contione privato dixerunt. Hinc [1] contentione orta cum veteres publicani se ad tribunum contulissent, rogatio repente sub unius tribuni nomine
7 promulgatur, quae publica vectigalia aut [2] ultro tributa C. Claudius et Ti. Sempronius locassent, ea rata locatio ne esset: ab integro locarentur et ut omnibus redimendi et conducendi promiscue ius
8 esset. Diem ad eius rogationem [3] concilio tribunus plebis dixit. Qui postquam venit [4] ut censores ad dissuadendum processerunt, Graccho dicente [5] silentium fuit; cum [6] Claudio obstreperetur, audi-
9 entiam facere praeconem iussit. Eo facto avocatam [7] a se contionem tribunus questus et in ordinem se coactum ex Capitolio, ubi erat concilium, abiit.
10 Postero die ingentis tumultus ciere. Ti. Gracchi primum bona consecravit quod in multa pignoribusque eius qui tribunum appellasset,[8] intercessioni

[1] Hinc *Fr*: hic *V*.
[2] aut *add. Walch*: *om. V*.
[3] *ita V; non accipiunt edd., aut* eius *delentes, aut* legis *addentes*.
[4] dixit. Qui postquam venit *Fr*: dixitq. postvenit *V*.
[5] dicente *Fr*: dicendo *V*.
[6] cum *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[7] avocatam *Fr*: avocato *V*.
[8] qui tribunum appellasset *Fr*: quitribuniquitribunum appellassent *V*.

[1] Such bonds, designed to secure the appearance for trial of a person charged with a crime, were secured, not directly from the defendant, but from bondsmen from among his friends. For this practice, cf. III. xiii. 8, XXV. iv. 8–10, XXXIX. xli. 7, and Summary XLVIII. Aulus Gellius, XVI. x. 8, mentions bondsmen as one of the obsolete legal forms abolished by the *lex Aebutia* (exact date unknown). After this time, bonds were posted by the defendant.





sent agents to secure bonds [1] and announced before a meeting a fine for the citizen.[2] A dispute having arisen from this cause, when the veteran tax-gatherers had resorted to the tribune, a proposed law was suddenly published under the name of the one tribune, stating that whereas Gaius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius had let certain public revenues and public works, the letting of these should be void; they should be let anew, and everyone without restriction should have the right of farming and contracting. The tribune of the people announced for the assembly [3] a day for voting on this proposal.[4] When this day came, as the censors came forward to advise against the law,[5] while Gracchus was speaking there was silence; when heckling greeted Claudius, he ordered the herald to bring the meeting to order. When this was done, the tribune, complaining that the meeting had been taken out of his hands and that he had been deprived of his authority, left the Capitol, where the assembly was. Next day he raised a great uproar. He first dedicated to the gods the property of Tiberius Gracchus because in the matter of the fine and the bonds imposed on one who had appealed to a tribune, B.C. 169

[2] The veto of one tribune sufficed to debar an action, but the censors apparently expected the other tribunes to suppress Rutilius, as had been done on various other occasions, cf. II. xliii. 4, IV. xlix. 6 and liii. 7, IX. xxxiv. 26, XXIV. xliii. 3, or that the senate would support them, cf. XXIX. xxxvii. 17.
[3] An Assembly of the Commons (*concilium plebis*).
[4] An attempt is made here to translate the MS. text, without the usual alterations (see critical note). I accept the suggestion of Duker that the phrase, if completed, would be *ad eius rogationis rogationem*, *rogatio* meaning (*a*) a bill or proposed law, (*b*) the process of putting it to a vote.
[5] In a meeting (*contio*) held before the voting assembly.

A.U.C. 585
11 non parendo se in ordinem coegisset; C. Claudio
diem dixit, quod contionem ab se avocasset; et
utrique censori perduellionem se iudicare pronun-
tiavit diemque comitiis a C. Sulpicio praetore urbano
12 petit. Non recusantibus censoribus, quominus [1]
primo quoque tempore iudicium de se populus
faceret, in ante diem octavum et septimum kal.
13 Octobres comitiis perduellionis dicta dies. Censores
extemplo in atrium Libertatis escenderunt [2] et ibi
obsignatis [3] tabellis publicis clausoque tabulario et
dimissis servis publicis negarunt se prius quidquam
publici negotii gesturos, quam iudicium populi de se
14 factum esset. Prior Claudius causam dixit; et cum
ex duodecim centuriis equitum octo censorem con-
demnassent multaeque aliae primae classis, extemplo
principes civitatis in conspectu populi anulis aureis

[1] quominus *J. F. Gronovius*: quiiminus *V*.
[2] Libertatis escenderunt *Kreyssig*: libertatescenderunt *V*.
[3] obsignatis *Hertz*: signatis *V*.

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[1] Rutilius proceeds under the law mentioned in III. lv. 7, that one who injured a tribune should forfeit his head to Jupiter, and that his property should be sold at the temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera; the ceremony of dedicating the man and his property to the gods might be performed by a tribune, cf. Cicero, *De Domo Sua* 47 (123–5), but apparently had to be confirmed by action of the people. Livy's phrasing seems to make Rutilius arrange for two trials for Claudius, but we hear of only one (below, 14–16) and it seems probable that the trial for treason, based on the charges mentioned, was the one action which was to confirm the sentence already pronounced by the tribune; also this sentence was probably directed equally against both, though Gracchus is named





Gracchus had, by not obeying the tribune's inter- B.C. 169
position, deprived him of his authority; he set a day for the trial of Gaius Claudius on the charge of taking the meeting away from him; and he announced that he judged each censor guilty of treason, and asked of Gaius Sulpicius the city praetor a day for an assembly.[1] Since the censors did not object to having the people pass judgment on them at the first possible moment, the day for the assembly-trial for treason was set for the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of September.[2] The censors immediately mounted to the Hall of Liberty [3] and, having there sealed the public accounts and closed the account-room and sent away the public slaves, declared that they would transact no public business until the judgment of the people upon them had been passed. Claudius pleaded his cause first; and when of the twelve centuries of knights eight had condemned the censor, along with many other centuries of the first class, at once the leading men of the state, in the sight of the people, laid aside their gold rings and

alone. For a trial of treason, the *comitia centuriata* was called, since a death-sentence was involved, not the *comitia tributa*, as above, viii. 9, cf. the note, nor the *concilium plebis*.

[2] A day for each defendant, see XXV. iv. 10.

[3] This appears to have been next to the Senate-house, and perhaps a sort of annex to it. A rebuilding of the *atrium* in 194 B.C. is mentioned in XXXIV. xliv. 5; hostages were kept there, according to XXV. vii. 12; archives for laws were maintained there (Festus 241); and the enrolment of freedmen in the city tribes took place there (XLV. xv. 5). The anniversary day of the sanctuary of Freedom was April thirteenth (Ovid, *Fasti* IV. 623). In the first century B.C., slaves were imprisoned there (Cicero, *Pro Milone* 59), and, following a plan of Julius Caesar's, Asinius Pollio founded there the first public library in Rome, with rich sculptural adornment (Ovid, *Tristia* III. i. 71–2, Suetonius, *Augustus* 29).

A.U.C. 585 positis vestem mutarunt, ut supplices plebem
15 circumirent. Maxime tamen sententiam vertisse dicitur Ti. Gracchus, quod, cum clamor undique plebis esset periculum Graccho non esse, conceptis verbis iuravit, si collega damnatus esset, non expectato de se iudicio comitem exilii eius futurum.
16 Adeo tamen ad extremum spei venit [1] reus, ut octo centuriae ad damnationem defuerint. Absoluto Claudio tribunus plebis negavit se Gracchum [2] morari.

XVII. Eo anno postulantibus Aquileiensium legatis, ut numerus colonorum augeretur,[3] mille et quingentae familiae ex senatus consulto scriptae triumvirique, qui eas deducerent, missi sunt [4] T. Annius Luscus, P. Decius Subulo, M. Cornelius Cethegus.
2 Eodem anno C. Popilius et Cn. Octavius legati, qui in Graeciam missi erant, senatus consultum Thebis primum recitatum per omnes Peloponnesi urbes [5] circumtulerunt ne quis ullam rem in bellum magistratibus Romanis conferret praeterquam quod
3 senatus censuisset. Hoc fiduciam in posterum

[1] venit *Fr*: veniret *V*.
[2] Gracchum *Fr*: Graccho *V*.
[3] ut numerus colonorum augeretur *J. F. Gronovius* utnumerumcolonorumaugeret *V*: ut numerum colonorum augerent *I. Perizonius*.
[4] *post* missi sunt *vacat spatio 9 litterarum* (*Giarratano*).
[5] Peloponnesi urbes *Fr*: Peloponnensesuiurbes *V*.

[1] *I.e.*, a dark toga; with it jewellery was not worn, and senators and magistrates did not wear the purple stripe on their togas of mourning.
[2] Except for the knights, among whom were the hostile tax-gatherers, the danger to Claudius obviously arose from his harsh and arbitrary behaviour; cf. his actions during his consulate in 177 B.C., XLI. x. 5–13.
[3] The later activities of these censors are told below, XLIV. xvi. and XLV. xv.





put on mourning,[1] in order to go about entreating B.C. 169
the commons. Chiefly, however, Tiberius Gracchus is said to have changed men's minds, because, although there was everywhere shouting from the commons that Gracchus was in no danger, he swore in formal terms that if his colleague were condemned he would not await the outcome of his own trial, but would accompany Claudius into exile.[2] None the less, so near did the defendant come to the last ray of hope that only eight centuries were lacking for condemnation. When Claudius had been acquitted, the tribune of the people said that he did not care about the case of Gracchus.[3]

XVII. In that year, at the request of envoys from Aquileia that the number of colonists be increased, fifteen hundred households were enrolled in accordance with a decree of the senate, and a board of three, Titus Annius Luscus, Publius Decius Subulo, and Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, were sent to lead the settlement.[4]

In the same year [5] Gaius Popilius and Gnaeus Octavius, the envoys who had been sent into Greece, first caused to be read at Thebes and then to be carried about to all the cities of the Peloponnese the decree of the senate that no one should contribute anything to Roman officers for the war except what the senate should have voted. This resolution had

[4] The reinforcement was sent two years after it was requested, cf. above, i. 5–12. The sending of settlers may have been easier during the censors' activity, cf. XXXIX. xliv. 10.
[5] At this point Livy begins to draw on Polybius XXVIII. 3; but Polybius says that the envoys urged the Thebans to loyalty, and read the senate's resolution only in the Peloponnese.

A.U.C. 585
quoque praebuerat levatos se oneribusque[1] im-
pensisque quibus, alia aliis imperantibus, exhaurie-
4 bantur. Achaico concilio Aegii iis dato[2] benigne
locuti auditique, egregia spe futuri status[3] fidissima
5 gente relicta, in Aetoliam traiecerunt. Ibi nondum
quidem seditio erat, sed omnia suspecta criminumque
6 inter ipsos plena; ob quae[4] obsidibus postulatis
neque exitu rei imposito in Acarnaniam inde profecti
7 legati sunt. Thyrrei[5] concilium legatis Acarnanes
dederunt. Ibi quoque inter factiones[6] erat certa-
men: quidam principum postulare ut praesidia in
urbes suas inducerentur adversus amentiam eorum
8 qui ad Macedonas gentem[7] trahebant; pars recusare
ne quod bello captis et hostibus mos esset, id pacatae
9 et sociae civitates ignominiae acciperent. Iusta
deprecatio haec visa. Larisam ad Hostilium procon-
sulem — ab eo enim missi erant — legati redierunt.
10 Octavium retinuit secum, Popilium cum mille ferme
militibus in hiberna Ambraciam misit.

XVIII. Perseus principio hiemis egredi Mace-
doniae finibus non ausus,[8] ne qua in regnum vacuum
inrumperent Romani, sub tempus brumae, cum

[1] -que *del. Madvig.*
[2] Aegii iis dato *Ursinus et Weissenborn, cf. Polyb.* XXVIII. 3. 10: argisagitato *V.*
[3] status *Fr*: statuis *V.*
[4] inter ipsos plena; ob quae *Fr*: interipsospleuaque· interipsospleuaobquae *V.*
[5] Thyrrei *Sigonius*: typri *V.*
[6] inter factiones *Fr*: interfectiones *V.*
[7] Macedonas gentem *J. F. Gronovius*: macedonicamgentem *V*: Macedonas Acarnanicam gentem *Weissenborn*: Macedonicam sectam gentem *Goldbacher.*
[8] non ausus *Fr*: ne ausus *V.*

[1] Cf. Polybius XXVIII. 3. 7–10.





produced confidence for the future, too, that they had been relieved of both burdens and outlays, by which, as one and another ordered various things, they were being drained dry. Before an Achaean council held for them at Aegium the Roman envoys both spoke and were heard with cordiality,[1] and leaving this most loyal people with extraordinary hope for their future position, they crossed to Aetolia. There no revolt indeed had as yet broken out, but every move was suspected and replete with the mutual recriminations of the Aetolians; having, because of these, called for the giving of hostages, but without bringing the trouble to an end,[2] the envoys set out thence for Acarnania. At Thyrreum the Acarnanians held a council for the envoys. There too a contest between factions was under way; some of the chief men demanded that garrisons be brought into their cities to guard against the madness of those who were dragging the tribe toward the Macedonians; some objected to this, on the ground that the disgrace which was customary for those captured in war and hostile should not be inflicted on peaceful and allied cities. This plea in opposition seemed sound.[3] The envoys returned to Hostilius the proconsul at Larisa—for they had been sent by him. Octavius he kept with him, Popilius he sent with about a thousand soldiers into winter quarters at Ambracia. B.C. 169

XVIII. Perseus did not dare to leave the limits of Macedonia at the outset of winter, for fear that at some point the Romans might raid his undefended realm. About the winter solstice, however, when

[2] Cf. Polybius XXVIII. 4.
[3] Cf. Polybius XXVIII. 5.

A.U.C. 585

inexsuperabilis [1] ab Thessalia montes nivis altitudo
2 facit, occasionem esse ratus frangendi finitimorum spes animosque, ne quid averso se [2] in Romanum bellum periculi ab iis esset [3] cum a Thracia pacem Cotys, ab Epiro Cephalus repentina defectione ab Romanis praestarent, Dardanos recens domuisset
3 bellum,[4] solum infestum esse Macedoniae latus quod ab Illyrico pateret cernens, neque ipsis quietis Illyriis et aditum praebentibus Romano [5] si domuisset proximos Illyriorum Gentium quoque regem iam diu dubium in societatem perlici posse, cum decem
4 milibus peditum, quorum pars phalangitae erant, et duobus milibus levium armorum [6] et quingentis
5 equitibus profectus Stuberram venit. Inde frumento complurium dierum sumpto iussoque apparatu oppugnandarum urbium sequi, tertio die ad Uscanam [7] — Penestianae terrae ea maxima [8] urbs est —
6 posuit castra,[9] prius tamen quam vim admoveret, missis qui temptarent nunc praefectorum praesidii, nunc oppidanorum animos. Erat autem ibi cum
7 iuventute Illyriorum Romanum praesidium.[10] Post-

[1] inexsuperabilis *Fr* : exsuperabilis *V.*
[2] averso se *Fr* : inadversose *V.*
[3] ab iis esset *Forchhammer* : abisset *V.*
[4] bellum *Kreyssig* : sedbellumį *V* : bello *Fr.*
[5] Romano *J. F. Gronovius* : Romanis *V.*
[6] armorum *J. F. Gronovius* : armatorum *V.*
[7] Uscanam *Sigonius* : Uscana *V, et Graece neutrum est; at cf. infra* xix. 1, etc.
[8] maxima *Sigonius* : maxime *V.*
[9] castra *Fr* : causa *V.*
[10] praesidium *Fr* : r *V.*

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[1] That is, the western passes, cf. XLII. liii. 6; Tempe was held by the Macedonian garrison at Gonnus, XLII. liv. 8; and cf. XLIV. ii.

[2] Livy's account of affairs in Epirus and the campaign against the Dardani is lost, cf. above, iii. 7 and the note. Con-





the depth of snow makes the mountains [1] impassable B.C. 169
from Thessaly, he thought that here was an opportunity to shatter the hopes and spirits of his neighbours, so that no danger might arise from them while his attention was turned toward the campaign against the Romans. On the side of Thrace Cotys assured peace, as did Cephalus on the side of Epirus [2] by his sudden desertion of the Romans, while the recent campaign had subdued the Dardani. Perceiving then that the only quarter hostile to Macedonia was that which allowed access from Illyricum, where the Illyrians themselves were restless and were providing the Romans with an approach, and that if he conquered the nearest Illyrians, he might also entice King Gentius, who had long been wavering, into an alliance, Perseus set out with ten thousand infantry, some of whom were phalanx-men,[3] two thousand light troops, and five hundred cavalry, and reached Stuberra. Thence, taking grain for a number of days and ordering equipment for besieging cities to follow, on the third day he pitched camp by Uscana [4] —which is the largest city of the Penestian region—but sent, before bringing an attack to bear, men to test the mood, now of the commanders of the garrison, now of the townspeople. For there was in the city, along with the young men of the Illyrians, a Roman garrison. After the messengers reported

cerning the latter, Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus* IX. 3, says that Perseus killed 10,000 Dardanians and acquired much booty.

[3] The rest were peltasts, cf. Perseus' muster-roll in XLII. li. 3–11.

[4] Cf. above, x. and the note, for a Roman counter-attack on this town, the account of which Livy has not harmonized with Polybius' account reproduced here.

A.U.C. 585 quam nihil pacati referebant oppugnare est adortus et corona eam capere conatus est.[1] Cum sine intermissione [2] interdiu noctuque alii aliis succedentes, pars scalas muris, pars [3] ignem portis inferrent, sustinebant tamen eam tempestatem propugnatores
8 urbis, quia spes erat neque hiemis vim diutius pati Macedonas in aperto posse, nec ab Romano bello tantum regi laxamenti fore ut posset morari.
9 Ceterum postquam vineas agi turresque excitari vident,[4] victa pertinacia est. Nam praeterquam quod adversus vim pares non erant, ne frumenti quidem aut ullius alterius rei copia intus erat, ut in
10 necopinata obsidione. Itaque cum spei nihil ad resistendum esset, C. Carvilius Spoletinus et C. Afranius a praesidio Romano missi qui a Perseo peterent primo ut armatos suaque secum ferentis abire sineret, dein, si id minus impetrarent, vitae
11 tantum libertatisque fidem acciperent. Promissum id benignius est ab rege quam praestitum; exire enim sua secum efferentibus iussis primum arma, dein libertatem [5] ademit. His urbe [6] egressis et Illyriorum cohors — quingenti erant — et Uscanenses [7] se urbemque dediderunt.

XIX. Perseus praesidio Uscanae imposito multi-

[1] corona eam capere conatus est *Fr*: coroneamcapereconatumest *V*.
[2] intermissione *Fr*: interestmissione *V*.
[3] pars *add. Kreyssig*: *om. V*.
[4] vident *Madvig*: videntur *V*: viderunt *Fr*.
[5] dein libertatem *add. Hartel*: dein omnia alia *H. J. Müller*: *om. V*.





nothing in the way of terms, Perseus began to press B.C. 169
the siege and tried to capture the city with a surrounding attack. Although without interruption through day and night relay of men after relay here brought ladders against the walls, and there fire against the gates, nevertheless, the defenders of the city withstood this tempest, because they had hopes that the Macedonians could not longer endure the violence of winter in the open, and that the lull in the Roman campaign would not long permit the king to linger. However, after they saw sheds being brought up and towers raised, their determination was overcome. For apart from the fact that they were not equally matched against the assault, there was no supply even of grain or of anything else in the city, as was natural when the siege was unexpected. And so, since there was no hope of holding out, Gaius Carvilius of Spoletium and Gaius Afranius were sent from the Roman garrison to request of Perseus, first, that he should permit them to depart under arms and carrying their possessions with them, and next, if they failed to obtain this, that they should at least receive assurances of life and freedom. The king's generosity was greater in promise than in performance; for after bidding them to depart carrying their possessions with them, he deprived them first of their arms, then of their freedom. After the Romans had left the city, both the force of Illyrians—there were five hundred of them—and the people of Uscana surrendered themselves and their city.

XIX. After placing a garrison in Uscana, Perseus

[6] His urbe *Fr*: hisenimurbe *V*.
[7] Uscanenses *Sigonius*: Escanienses *V*.

A.U.C. 585

tudinem omnem deditorum, quae prope numero
2 exercitum aequabat, Stuberram abducit. Ibi
Romanis — quattuor milia autem hominum erant —
praeter principes in custodiam civitatum[1] divisis,
Uscanensibus Illyriisque venditis, in Penestas[2]
exercitum reducit ad Oaeneum[3] oppidum in
3 potestatem redigendum, et alioqui opportune situm
et transitus ea est in Labeates, ubi Gentius regnabat.
4 Praetereunti frequens castellum, Draudacum nomine,
peritorum quidam regionis eius nihil Oaeneo[4]
capto opus esse ait, nisi in potestate et Draudacum
5 sit; opportunius etiam ad omnia positum esse.
Admoto exercitu omnes[5] extemplo dediderunt sese.

Ad[6] quam spe celeriorem deditionem[7] erectus,
postquam animadvertit quantus agminis sui terror
esset, undecim alia castella eodem metu in potesta-
6 tem redigit. Ad perpauca vi opus fuit, cetera
voluntate dedita; et in his recepti mille et quingenti
7 dispositi per praesidia milites Romani. Magno usui
Carvilius Spoletinus erat in colloquiis dicendo nihil
in ipsos saevitum. Deinde[8] Oaeneum perventum
est, quod sine iusta oppugnatione capi non poterat.

[1] civitatum *Fr*: civitatem *V*: civitatium *Giarratano*, "*post alios ex usu Liviano.*"

[2] in Penestas *Heraeus*: inpeneinpesiam *V*: in Penestiam *Fr*.

[3] Oaeneum *Fr*: eoeneum *V*.

[4] Oaeneo *Fr*: oaeneon *V*.

[5] omnes *Fr*: omne *V*.

[6] ad *add. Harant*: *om. V*.

[7] deditionem *Fr*: deditiorē *V*.

[8] Deinde *H. J. Müller*: aeide *V*: ad *Fr.*: Inde ad *Duker*.





took the whole mass of prisoners, which almost B.C. 169
equalled his army in numbers,[1] to Stuberra. There, after assigning the Romans—of whom there were four thousand[2]—, except the chief officers, to various cities to guard, and selling the people of Uscana and the Illyrians, he led the army back among the Penestae in order to bring under his control the town of Oaeneum, which was in many ways strategically situated, particularly in that the route to the Labeates, where Gentius was king, passes this way. As he was passing a populous fort, Draudacum by name, one who knew this region said that there was no use of capturing Oaeneum unless Draudacum too was under his control; for it was even more strategically situated for all purposes. On his bringing up his army, all at once surrendered.

Encouraged by this surrender, more prompt than he had hoped, after he noticed how great was the fear caused by his column, he brought under his control eleven other forts because of this same dread. At only a very few was there need of force; the rest were voluntarily surrendered; and in these there were taken prisoner fifteen hundred[2] Roman soldiers who had been distributed among the garrisons. Carvilius of Spoletium was most useful in the parleys, in saying that no harshness had been used against him and his comrades. Next, Perseus arrived at Oaeneum, which could not be taken without a regular

[1] According to ch. x. above, the population of Uscana was 10,000.

[2] In view of the numbers given elsewhere for garrison details (XLII. xxxvi. 9, forts of Dassaretii and Illyrians, 2000 Romans: lxvii. 9, Ambracia, 2000 men; XLIII. ix. 6, force of Claudius, 4000 Romans, 4000 local levies, to protect Illyricum in general), this number seems exaggerated.

A.U.C. 585

Et maiore aliquanto quam cetera iuventute et
8 validum oppidum moenibus erat, et hinc amnis
Artatus nomine, hinc mons praealtus et aditu
9 difficilis cingebat. Haec spem ad resistendum
oppidanis dabant. Perseus circumvallato oppido
aggerem a parte superiore ducere instituit, cuius
10 altitudine muros superaret. Quod opus dum perficitur, crebris interim proeliis, quibus per excursiones et moenia sua oppidani tutabantur et opera hostium impediebant, magna eorum multitudo variis casibus absumpta est, et qui supererant labore diurno nocturnoque et[1] volneribus inutiles erant.
11 Ubi primum agger iniunctus muro est, et cohors
regia, quos Nicatoras appellant, transcendit et scalis
multis simul partibus impetus in urbem est factus.
12 Puberes omnes interfecti sunt; coniuges liberosque
eorum in custodiam dedit; praedae alia militum
13 cessere. Stuberram inde victor revertens ad Gen-
tium[2] legatos Pleuratum Illyrium, exulantem apud
14 se, et Adaeum[3] Macedonem a Beroea[4] mittit; iis
mandat, ut exponerent aestatis eius hiemisque acta

[1] et *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[2] ad Gentium *Fr*: augentium *V*.
[3] Adaeum *Valesius*: aputeum *V*.
[4] a Beroea *Fr*: abeuroea *V*.

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[1] It is not clear to what sort of unit Livy is referring; one would suppose a *corps d'élite*, and the reference, in XXVIII. v. 15, to a royal company kept by Philip as a mobile reserve under his personal command, would seem to confirm this; so also the royal company of Antiochus, called the Silver-Shields, in XXXVII. xl. 7; but the royal company mentioned in XL. vi. 3, at a review of the Macedonian army, would seem





siege. The city was strong both because of a somewhat larger force of young men than the others had had and because of its walls; moreover, on the one side a river, Artatus by name, on the other a very high mountain, difficult to ascend, girt the city about. These defences gave the people of the city hope of holding out. Perseus, after encircling the town with earthworks, began to build up a mound on the higher side, high enough to bring him above the wall. While this work was in progress, the frequent battles which meanwhile took place, as the townspeople resorted to sallies to protect their walls and to hinder the siege-works of the enemy, caused a great wastage in casualties of one kind or another, while those townspeople who survived were incapacitated by daily and nightly toil and by wounds. As soon as the mound was joined to the wall, the royal company, whom they call the Conquerors,[1] passed over it, and also at the same time an attack was made with ladders against many parts of the city. All the adult males were killed; their wives and children Perseus put under guard; the other items of booty fell to the soldiers. Returning thence victoriously to Stuberra, he sent as envoys to Gentius, Pleuratus the Illyrian, who was in exile at his court, and Adaeus, a Macedonian from Beroea;[2] he instructed them to relate his achievements of that summer and winter against B.C. 169

to be the group of young nobles described in XLV. vi. 7, as serving as royal pages or squires, cf. Arrian IV. xiii. 1, Diodorus XVII. 65, Curtius Rufus VIII. vi. 2–7, and X. vii. 16. The only other reference to the name "Conquerors" is Hesychius' definition: "the most excellent in the units" (*νικατῆρες οἱ ἀκμαιότατοι ἐν ταῖς τάξεσι*).

[2] Taken from Polybius XXVIII. 8; who adds the Epirotes to the list of Perseus' opponents, cf. above, xviii. 2.

A.U.C. 585 sua adversus Romanos Dardanosque; adicerent[1] recentia in Illyrico hibernae expeditionis opera; hortarentur Gentium in amicitiam secum et cum Macedonibus iungendam.

XX. Hi transgressi iugum Scordi montis, per Illyrici solitudines,[2] quas de[3] industria populando Macedones fecerant ne transitus faciles Dardanis in Illyricum aut Macedoniam essent, Scodram[4] labore ingenti tandem pervenerunt. Lissi rex Gentius
2 erat. Eo acciti legati, qui mandata exponentes benigne auditi sunt; responsum[5] sine effectu tulerunt, voluntatem sibi non deesse ad bellandum cum Romanis; ceterum ad conandum id quod velit
3 pecuniam maxime deesse. Haec Stuberram rettulere regi tum maxime captivos ex Illyrico vendenti. Extemplo iidem legati, addito Glaucia ex numero custodum corporis, remittuntur sine mentione pecuniae, qua una barbarus inops impelli ad bellum
4 poterat.[6] Ancyram inde populatus Perseus in Penestas rursus[7] exercitum reducit firmatisque

[1] hiemisque acta sua adversus Romanos Dardanosque; adicerent *Fr*: hiemisquaesuaeac tasuaaduersusromanosuardanos queactasuaaduersusadicerent *V*.
[2] solitudines *Fr*: sollicitudines *V*.
[3] de *Fr*: per *V*.
[4] Scodram *Fr*: iscoram *V*.
[5] qui *hic posuit Madvig*: auditi sunt, qui responsum *V*.
[6] qua una barbarus inops impelli ad bellum poterat *Fr*: qua undabarbarosinopsinepelliadebellumnonpoterat *V*: qua non data b.i.i.a.b. non poterat *Weissenborn*: itaque barbarus i.i.a.b.n.p. *Brakman*: qua nudatus b.i.i.a.b.n.p. *Goldbacher*: qua non abunde data, *etc.*, *Walter*: *post* bellum, Romanum *add. Zingerle*.
[7] rursus *Wesenberg*: rursum *V*.





the Romans and Dardanians; they were to add the B.C. 169
recent operations of his winter march into Illyricum; and they were to urge Gentius to join in friendship with Perseus and the Macedonians.

XX. After crossing the ridge of Mount Scordus, and passing through the desert regions of Illyricum, which the Macedonians had purposely made desert by ravaging, so that there might be no easy passage for the Dardanians to Illyricum or Macedonia, these envoys came at last with great toil to Scodra. King Gentius was at Lissus. Thither the envoys were summoned, and their message was given a favourable hearing; but the reply which they took away accomplished nothing; it was to the effect that Gentius did not lack the will to fight the Romans, but to try to effect his will he did especially lack money. These words the envoys reported at Stuberra to the king, who was at that moment engaged in selling the prisoners from Illyricum. At once the same envoys, with the addition of Glaucias from among the king's bodyguard, were sent back with no word about money, by which alone the poverty-stricken barbarian could be urged into war.[1] Thence, after ravaging Ancyra,[2] Perseus led his army back again among the

[1] On Perseus' stinginess, cf. XLII. lxvii. 5 and the note, XLIV. xxvi. 1, Polybius XXVIII. 9; Plutarch, *Aemilius* xii. 4–xiii. 2 mentions the Bastarnae as also victims of Perseus' greed, and points out the contrast to Alexander the Great and Philip, his father, who disregarded money for the sake of conquest.
[2] The situation of Ancyra is unknown; we cannot be sure whether it is a town, a district, or a mistake. In Polybius XXVIII. 8. 11, in place of a corrupt word (*ἐπακϛωναν*), Ursinus proposed reading *ἐπ' Ἄγκυραν*, on the basis of this reference in Livy; but modern editors prefer the emendation *ἐφ' Ὕσκανα*.

A.U.C. 585 Uscanae et circa eam per omnia castella quae receperat praesidiis in Macedoniam sese recipit.

XXI. L. Coelius, legatus Romanus, praeerat Illyrico; qui moveri non ausus cum in iis locis rex esset,[1] post profectionem demum eius conatus in Penestis Uscanam recipere, a praesidio quod ibi Macedonum erat cum multis vulneribus repulsus Lychnidum[2]
2 copias reduxit. Inde post dies paucos M. Trebellium Fregellanum cum satis valida manu in[3] Penestas misit ad obsides ab iis[4] urbibus quae in amicitia cum
3 fide permanserant accipiendos; procedere etiam in Parthinos — ii quoque obsides dare pepigerant — iussit. Ab utraque gente sine tumultu exigit.[5] Penestarum equites Apolloniam, Parthinorum Dyrrachium, — tum Epidamni magis celebre nomen
4 Graecis erat — missi. Ap. Claudius acceptam in Illyrico ignominiam corrigere cupiens Phanotam,[6] Epiri castellum, adortus oppugnare[7] est. Auxilia Chaonum Thesprotorumque[8] praeter Romanum exercitum, ad sex milia hominum, secum adduxit;

[1] rex esset *Fr*: rexnonesset *V*.
[2] Lychnidum *Sigonius*: lycidu *V*.
[3] in *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[4] iis *Kreyssig*: his *V*.
[5] exigit *Weissenborn*: exigi *V*.
[6] Phanotam *Drakenborch*: Phalanom *V*.
[7] oppugnare *Madvig*: oppugnari *V*.
[8] Chaonum Thesprotorumque *Madvig*: Thoanumtesprotorumque *V*.

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[1] The relative positions of Coelius and Claudius, above, ix–x. below, §§ 4–5, xxiii. 1–2 and 6, and XLIV. xx. 5, cannot be exactly determined; perhaps they had different sectors, in spite of the story of Claudius' fiasco before Uscana, cf. note 4, p. 35.





Penestae and, having strengthened the garrisons in Uscana and in all the forts that he had captured round about it, retired to Macedonia. B.C. 169

XXI. Lucius Coelius, a Roman staff-officer,[1] was in charge of Illyricum; he had not dared to stir while the king was in those parts, but after his departure at last attempted in the Penestian country to retake Uscana, and, being driven back with many wounded by the Macedonian garrison which was there, led his forces back to Lychnidus. Thence after a few days he sent Marcus Trebellius of Fregellae with a strong enough detachment among the Penestae to receive hostages from those cities which had remained loyal to the alliance; he ordered Trebellius to proceed also to the Parthini,[2] for they had likewise promised to give hostages. From both peoples Trebellius exacted the hostages without disturbance. The knights of the Penestae were sent to Apollonia, those of the Parthini to Dyrrachium—at that time the name Epidamnus was more generally in use among the Greeks.[3] Appius Claudius, eager to atone for the disgrace he had received in Illyricum,[4] attempted to besiege Phanote, a fort of Epirus. He took with him auxiliaries from the Chaonians[5] and Thesprotians, besides his Roman army, a total of about six

[2] They had been recognized as allies of the Romans in 205 B.C. (Polybius II. 11. 11, VII. 9. 13, Livy XXIX. xii. 13), but seem to have come again under Philip's rule; in 196 B.C., XXXIII. xxxiv. 11, they were put under Pleuratus, the father of Gentius (not the exile mentioned above, xix. 13), who had aided Rome against Philip (XXXI. xxviii. 1–3, xl. 10; cf. also below, xxiii. 6).
[3] Including Polybius, *e.g.*, XXXIV. 7.
[4] Cf. above, ix–x.
[5] Phanote lay in their territory; the Chaonians were divided in their attachment, some holding with Perseus.

A.U.C. 585

5 neque operae pretium fecit Cleua,[1] qui relictus a Perseo erat, cum valido praesidio defendente. Et Perseus, Elimeam profectus et circa eam exercitu [2] lustrato ad Stratum vocantibus Epirotis ducit.
6 Stratus validissima tum urbs Aetoliae erat [3]; sita est super Ambracium sinum prope [4] amnem Inachum.[5] Cum decem milibus peditum eo profectus est et equitibus trecentis, quos pauciores propter
7 angustias viarum et asperitatem duxit. Tertio [6] die cum pervenisset ad Citium montem, vix transgressus propter altitudinem nivis locum quoque
8 castris aegre invenit. Profectus inde, magis quia manere non poterat, quam [7] quod tolerabilis aut via aut tempestas esset, cum ingenti vexatione praecipue iumentorum altero die ad templum Iovis, Nicaeum
9 quem vocant, posuit castra. Ad Aratthum [8] inde flumen itinere ingenti emenso retentus altitudine amnis . . .[9] mansit. Quo spatio temporis ponte perfecto, traductis copiis diei progressus iter obvium

[1] Cleua *Fr*: creua *V*.
[2] eam exercitu *Fr*: eametexercitu *V*.
[3] validissima tum urbs Aetoliae erat *Fr*: validissimumurbsaetolierat *V*.
[4] Ambracium sinum prope *Fr*: ambraciamsineprope *V*.
[5] Inachum *Kreyssig*: acaum *V*.
[6] Tertio *Fr*: certo *V*.
[7] quam *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[8] Aratthum *Hertz*: Arachthum *Weissenborn*: arratum *V*.
[9] *Excidit num. dierum*; *malim* dies III *cum Zingerle*.

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[1] Here the city, not the district as in XXXI. xl. 1, XLII. liii. 5, and Plutarch, *Aemilius* ix. 3.
[2] Epirote exiles, cf. below xxii. 9, unless this is a mistake for "Aetolians."
[3] Until 270 B.C. the chief city of Acarnania, Stratus was then given to the Aetolians. The river is properly the





thousand men; he did not accomplish anything B.C. 169
worth his trouble, since Cleuas, who had been left by Perseus, was defending it with a strong garrison. Perseus also, setting out for Elimea,[1] and purifying his army in that neighbourhood, led his force, at the invitation of the Epirotes,[2] to Stratus. Stratus was at that time the strongest city of Aetolia; it is situated inland from the Ambracian Gulf near the River Inachus.[3] Perseus set out thither with ten thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry, a smaller number of which [4] he took with him because of the narrowness and roughness of the roads. When on the third day he had arrived at Mount Citium, the snow was so deep that he barely succeeded in crossing and had difficulty also in finding a place for his camp. Setting out thence, more because he could not stay than because either the way or the weather was bearable, with great suffering, especially of the baggage-animals, on the second day he pitched camp at the temple of Jupiter whom they call the Victorious.[5] Thence having traversed a huge march to the Aratthus River, he halted . . . delayed by the depth of the river. In this length of time a bridge was finished, and, leading his troops across, he proceeded one day's march and effected a meeting with

Acheloös (cf. *e.g.*, Polybius V. 13. 10); the name Inachus was sometimes applied to the upper portion of the Acheloös which was mistakenly regarded as a tributary, hence, perhaps, Livy's mistake.
[4] Two hundred less cavalry (and apparently the two thousand light troops were also omitted) than on the previous expedition; above, xviii. 4.
[5] Zeus Nikaios is named in inscriptions from Asia Minor; Cassius Dio XLVII. 40. 2 uses this name as a translation of "Jupiter Victor" at Rome.

A.U.C. 585 Archidamum, principem Aetolorum per quem ei Stratus tradebatur habuit.

XXII. Eo die ad finem agri Aetolici [1] castra posita;
2 inde altero die ad Stratum perventum; ubi prope Inachum amnem castris positis,[2] cum expectaret effusos omnibus portis [3] Aetolos in fidem suam venturos, clausas portas atque ipsa ea nocte qua venerat receptum Romanum praesidium cum C.
3 Popilio legato invenit. Principes, qui praesentis Archidami auctoritate compulsi regem arcessierant, obviam egresso Archidamo segniores facti locum adversae factioni dederant ad Popilium cum mille
4 peditibus ab Ambracia accersendum. In tempore et Dinarchus, praefectus equitum gentis Aetolorum, cum sescentis peditibus et equitibus centum venit.[4]
5 Satis constabat [5] eum tamquam ad Persea tendentem Stratum venisse, mutato deinde cum fortuna animo
6 Romanis se, adversus quos venerat, iunxisse. Nec Popilius securior quam debebat esse inter tam mobilia ingenia erat. Claves portarum custodiamque
7 murorum suae extemplo potestatis fecit; Dinarchum Aetolosque cum iuventute Stratiorum in arcem per
8 praesidii speciem amovit. Perseus ab imminentibus superiori parti urbis tumulis temptatis colloquiis, cum

[1] agri Aetolici *Madvig*: agricolis *V.*
[2] positis *add. Fr*: *om. V.*
[3] portis *Fr*: positis *V.*
[4] centum venit *Fr*: T *V.*
[5] constabat *Fr*: consultabat *V.*

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[1] Archidamus is mentioned by Polybius XXVIII. 4. 8 as accused of anti-Romanism by Lyciscus, a professional pro-Roman, cf. Vol. XII. p. 403, and 478, note 1.
[2] Cf. above, xvii. 10.





Archidamus, a prominent Aetolian, who was trying B.C. 169
to hand over Stratus to him.[1]

XXII. On that day camp was pitched at the edge of Aetolian territory; thence on the second day they arrived at Stratus. Although, when he pitched camp there near the Inachus River, Perseus expected the Aetolians to come streaming out of every gate to put themselves under his protection, he found that the gates were closed and that on the very night when he had arrived a Roman garrison, under the staff-officer Gaius Popilius, had been received. The leading men, driven by the influence of Archidamus while he was there, had summoned the king, but had become less active when Archidamus had gone out to meet Perseus, and had given an opportunity to the opposing party of summoning Popilius with a thousand infantry from Ambracia.[2] Just in time, too, came Dinarchus, the chief of cavalry [3] of the Aetolian League, with six hundred infantry and a hundred cavalry. It was well known that he had come to Stratus as if on his way to Perseus, but then, changing his mind with his luck, had joined the Romans, against whom he had come. Popilius, for his part, was not more off his guard than he should have been, considering the fickle temperaments which encompassed him. He at once took control of the keys of the gates and the guarding of the walls, and removed to the citadel, ostensibly as its garrison, Dinarchus and his Aetolians, along with the young men of Stratus. Perseus, after attempting parleys from the hills which overhang the upper part of the

[3] This officer was second in command of the Aetolian League, cf. XXXVIII. xi. 7.

A.U.C. 585
obstinatos atque etiam telis procul arcentis[1]
videret, quinque milia passuum ab urbe trans Peti-
9 tarum amnem posuit castra. Ibi consilio advocato
cum Archidamus Epirotarumque transfugae reti-
nerent, Macedonum[2] principes non pugnandum
cum infesto tempore anni censerent, nullis praeparatis
10 commeatibus, cum inopiam prius obsidentes quam
obsessi sensuri[3] essent, maxime quod hostium haud[4]
procul inde hiberna erant, territus in Aperantiam
11 castra movit. Aperantii eum[5] propter Archidami
magnam in ea gente gratiam auctoritatemque
consensu omnium acceperunt; is ipse cum octingen-
torum militum[6] praesidio his est praepositus.

XXIII. Rex cum non[7] minore vexatione iumen-
torum hominumque quam venerat in Macedoniam
rediit; Appium tamen ab obsidione Phanotes fama
2 ducentis ad Stratum Persei summovit. Cleuas cum
praesidio impigrorum iuvenum insecutus sub radicibus
prope inviis montium[8] ad mille hominum ex agmine
3 impedito occidit, ad ducentos cepit. Appius super-
atis angustiis in campo quem Meleona vocant stativa
dierum paucorum habuit. Interim Cleuas assumpto
Philostrato, qui quingentos ex[9] Epirotarum gente
habebat, in agrum Antigonensem transcendit.[10]

[1] arcentis *Fr*: argentis *V*.
[2] Macedonum *Fr*: macedonicum *V*.
[3] obsessi sensuri *Fr*: obsessucensuri *V*.
[4] haud *Fr*: aut *V*.
[5] Aperantii eum *Fr*: Aperantiaecum *V*.
[6] militum *Fr*: millium *V*.
[7] non *add. Drakenborch*: *om. V*.
[8] montium *Fr*: mouentium *V*.
[9] quingentos ex *add. Hertz*: delectos ex *add. Weissenborn*: *om. V*: quingentos *pro* gente *scripsit Madvig*.
[10] Antigonensem transcendit *Fr*: antigonensemhabebattranscendit *V*.





city,[1] on seeing that they were determined and were B.C. 169 even keeping him at a distance with missiles, pitched his camp five miles from the city across the river Petitarus. There he called a council and, although Archidamus and the Epirote deserters tried to keep him where he was, when the leading Macedonians were of the opinion that he should not fight against the unfavourable season of the year without having arranged for supplies, since the blockaders were bound to feel the want of them before the blockaded, especially when winter-quarters of the enemy were not far distant, Perseus in fear moved his camp into Aperantia.[2] The Aperantians, because of their great regard for Archidamus and his influence with that people, by general agreement received Perseus; Archidamus himself, with a garrison of eight hundred men, was put in charge of the city.

XXIII. With no less suffering of beasts and men than when he had come, the king returned to Macedonia; Appius, however, was drawn away from the siege of Phanote by the report that Perseus was marching on Stratus. Cleuas, following with a force of vigorous young men beneath the almost impassable spurs of the mountains, killed about a thousand men of the burdened column and captured about two hundred. After passing over the narrows, Appius remained in camp a few days in the plain which they call Meleon. Meanwhile Cleuas, taking along Philostratus, who had five hundred of the Epirote people, crossed over to the territory of

[1] To the north; ruins of the small citadel are traceable in this quarter.
[2] Taken by the Aetolians from Philip in 189 B.C., XXXVIII. iii. 4.

A.U.C. 585

4 Macedones ad depopulationem profecti; Philostratus
cum cohorte sua in insidiis loco[1] obscuro consedit.
In palatos populatores cum erupissent ab Antigonea
armati,[2] fugientes eos persequentes effusius in
5 vallem insessam ab hostibus praecipitant. Ibi ad
mille[3] occisis, centum ferme captis, et ubique
prospere gesta re prope stativa Appi castra movent,
ne qua vis sociis suis ab Romano exercitu inferri
6 possit. Appius nequiquam in his locis terens tempus,
dimissis Chaonum Thesprotorumque[4] et si qui alii
Epirotae erant praesidiis, cum Italicis militibus in
Illyricum regressus, per Parthinorum[5] socias urbes
in hiberna militibus divisis,[6] ipse Romam sacrificii
7 causa redit. Perseus ex Penestarum gente mille
pedites, ducentos equites revocatos Cassandream,
8 praesidio ut essent, misit. Ab Gentio eadem ad-
ferentes redierunt. Nec deinde alios atque alios
mittendo temptare eum destitit, cum appareret,
quantum in eo praesidii esset, nec tamen impetrare
ab animo posset, ut impensam in rem maximi ad
omnia momenti faceret.

[1] loco *Fr*: deloco *V*.
[2] erupissent ab Antigonea armati *Fr*: erupis setabantigatonemarmam *V*.
[3] praecipitant. Ibi ad mille *Giarratano*: praecipitantibusidem *V*: Ibi (*vel* inde) mille *Weissenborn*: Ibidem mille *Goldbacher*: Ibi DC *Heraeus* (*at MS.* AC *praebuisset*).
[4] Chaonum Thesprotorumque *Madvig*: Chaonumque *V*.
[5] Parthinorum *Sigonius*: Parteniorum *V*.
[6] divisis *I. Perizonius*: dimissis *V*.





Antigonea. The Macedonians set out to plunder; Philostratus with his detachment settled down in ambush in a hidden spot. When armed men sallied forth from Antigonea against the scattered plunderers, as they pursued in too open order after these fugitives, they burst into the valley ambushed by the enemy. After the killing there of about a thousand and the capturing of nearly a hundred, the campaign was successfully conducted everywhere, and they moved their camp near the settled camp of Appius, so that no violence might be inflicted by the Roman army on their allies. Appius, who was wasting time to no purpose in these parts, after sending away the forces of Chaonians, Thesprotians and whatever other Epirotes there were, retired to Illyricum with his Italian soldiers, divided his men in winter-quarters among the allied cities of the Parthini, and himself returned to Rome to offer sacrifices. Perseus sent to Cassandrea to act as its garrison a thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry recalled from the people of the Penestae. The envoys returned from Gentius with the same reply. On the one hand, Perseus did not cease thereafter to make overtures to him by sending embassy after embassy, and, on the other hand, although it was obvious how much reinforcement Gentius could provide, yet he could not induce himself to incur expense for a matter of the greatest importance in every respect.[1] B.C. 169

[1] Cf. above, p. 73, note 1.

# LIBRI XLIII PERIOCHA

Praetores aliquot eo, quod avare et crudeliter provincias administraverant, damnati sunt. P. Licinius Crassus pro cos. complures in Graecia urbes expugnavit et crudeliter corripuit: ob id captivi, qui ab eo sub corona venierant, ex s.c.[1] postea restituti sunt. Item a praefectis classium Romanarum multa impotenter in socios facta. Res a Perse rege in Thracia prospere gestas continet, victis[2] Dardanis et Illyrico, cuius rex erat Gentius. Motus, qui in Hispania ab Olonico factus erat, ipso interempto consedit. M. Aemilius Lepidus a censoribus princeps senatus[3] lectus.

[1] ex s.c. *ed. princeps*: et sic, etsi, *alia*, *MSS.*
[2] victis *Frobenius*: et victis *MSS.*
[3] senatus *edd.*: *om. MSS.*: in senatu *ed. princeps.*



# SUMMARY OF BOOK XLIII

Several praetors were condemned for having administered their provinces with greed and cruelty.[1] Publius Licinius Crassus the proconsul stormed and cruelly plundered numerous cities in Greece; because of this the prisoners who had been sold at auction by him were afterward restored by decree of the senate.[2] Likewise many disorderly acts were committed against allies by the commanders of Roman fleets.[3] The book includes successes obtained by King Perseus in Thrace, and his conquest of the Dardanians and of Illyricum, the king of which was Gentius.[4] A revolt in Spain, which was organized by Olonicus, collapsed when he had been killed.[5] Marcus Aemilius Lepidus was chosen chief of the Senate by the censors.[6]

[1] Cf. ii.
[2] Licinius seems to have committed these acts in his consulship, cf. iv. 5; an account of his campaign seems to have been lost after ch. iii, cf. n. 7, p. 13.
[3] Cf. iv. 5–13, vii. 8–viii. 9.
[4] The account is lost, cf. n. 7, p. 13, except for the reference in xix. 4; the implication that Gentius was attacked is wrong, cf. xix. 13–xx. 3, xxiii. 8.
[5] Cf. n. 7, p. 14, and iv. 1–4.
[6] Cf. xv. 6.

# APPENDIX

The intercalary month regularly began after Feb. 23, and consisted of 22 or 23 days, to which were added the last five days of February.

The usual arrangement of the year, established according to legend under Numa (Livy I. xix. 6) and actually perhaps at the establishment of the republic (cf. the "restoration" mentioned by Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* III. 36. 4), called for a regular moon-year of 355 days, with intercalation of 22 and 23 days, alternately, every second year. (The number of days in the year thus ran 355, 377, 355, 378, etc.) A cycle of 24 years was observed, in the twentieth year of which the intercalary month had only 22 days, not 23, while in the twenty-fourth year, the intercalary month was omitted. Thus the average error of one day a year in the ordinary succession of regular and intercalary years was corrected at the end of the 24-year cycle (cf. Macrobius I. 13. 13–21).

This calendar appears to have been in order in 211–10 B.C. (cf. Livy XXVII. iv. 1). In 190 B.C., on the other hand, there was an error of 125 days (cf. XXXVII. iv. 4 and the note, Vol. X, pp. 300–1). An explanation suggested by Unger, Iwan Müller's Handbuch, Vol. I, 1886, pp. 634–42, who has been followed in this note as a whole, is as follows: In 207 B.C., owing to the terror inspired by Hasdrubal's invasion of Italy, a change to a sun-year of 365 days

was planned in honour of Apollo, cf. the procession in his honour described in XXVII. xxxvii, end, which also propitiated Juno the Queen (as moon-goddess?—cf. C.I.L. 5, i, 3233 (Verona): IUN(oni) LUN(ae) REG(inae) SACR.—a dedication of a freedman, of imperial date). Intercalations were accordingly omitted till 192 B.C. (cf. Macrobius I. 14, "there was a time when all intercalations were omitted for a religious reason—propter superstitionem"), but the novelty of adding ten days to the standard year was also omitted after its first occurrence. We must assume that a cycle-end fell within the period of fourteen years, so that one intercalation would normally have been omitted, leaving six which were dropped because of the new arrangement. Six intercalations = 135 days, less ten extra days in 207 B.C. = 125 days lost from account. In 191 B.C. the consul Acilius Glabrio sponsored a law which gave the pontiffs a free hand to regulate intercalation (Macrobius I. 13. 21), probably to secure the gradual correction of the error. The intercalation of the year 169 may well have been an extraordinary one, as well as that of 167 B.C. (XLV. xliv. 3), thus arousing the special interest reflected by Livy's mention of these events, for he does not mention all the intercalations which must have occurred. The calendar could have been corrected by about 163 B.C.

# BOOK XLIV

# LIBER XLIV

A.U.C. 585

I. Principio veris, quod hiemem eam, qua haec gesta sunt, insecutum est, ab Roma profectus Q. Marcius Philippus consul cum quinque milibus militum,[1] quos [2] in supplementum legionum secum traiecturus
2 erat, Brundisium pervenit. M. Popilius consularis et alii pari nobilitate adulescentes tribuni militum in
3 Macedonicas legiones consulem secuti sunt. Per eos dies et C. Marcius Figulus praetor, cui classis provincia evenerat, Brundisium venit; et simul ex Italia profecti Corcyram altero die, tertio Actium,
4 Acarnaniae portum, tenuerunt. Inde consul ad Ambraciam egressus itinere terrestri petit Thessaliam; praetor superato Leucata Corinthium sinum invectus et Creusae relictis navibus terra et ipse per mediam Boeotiam—diei unius expedito iter est—Chalcidem ad classem contendit.

5 Castra eo tempore A. Hostilius in Thessalia circa Palaepharsalum habebat, sicut nulla re bellica

[1] militum *H. J. Müller*: *om. V.*
[2] quos *H. J. Müller*: quod *V*: quot *Drakenborch*: quod supplementum *J. F. Gronovius.*

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[1] Cf. XLII. xxxvii.-xlvii. and lvi. 7.
[2] This figure seems to come from Polybius. A larger figure for these reinforcements is mentioned in XLIII. xii. 3.



# BOOK XLIV

I. At the beginning of the spring following the winter campaigns just mentioned, Quintus Marcius Philippus [1] the consul left Rome and reached Brundisium with five thousand [2] men whom he planned to take over with him as reinforcements for the legions. The ex-consul Marcus Popilius [3] and some young men of equally high birth accompanied the consul as tribunes of the soldiers [4] in the legions for Macedonia. About the same time Gaius Marcius Figulus [5] the praetor, who had been assigned to the fleet, arrived in Brundisium, and the two commanders left Italy together, reached Corcyra the next day, and made port at Actium, the harbour of Acarnania, on the day after. Thence the consul disembarked at Ambracia and marched overland to Thessaly; the praetor rounded Cape Leucas, entered the Gulf of Corinth and, leaving his ships at Creusa, also took to the land and made for the fleet at Chalcis through the midst of Boeotia—one day's rapid journey. B.C. 169

At this time Aulus Hostilius had his camp in Thessaly near Old Pharsalus, having on the one hand performed no military feat worth mentioning, but on

[3] Cf. XLII. xxii. 7.
[4] Perhaps elected by the people, see XLIII. xii. 7.
[5] A cousin of the consul Philippus. Cf. Polybius XVIII. 16. 4; Livy XLIII. xi. 7.

A.U.C. 585
memorabili gesta, ita ad intentam [1] militarem
disciplinam ab effusa licentia formato milite et sociis
cum fide cultis et ab omni genere iniuriae defensis.
6 Audito successoris adventu cum arma viros equos
cum cura inspexisset,[2] ornato exercitu obviam venienti
7 consuli processit. Et primus eorum congressus ex
dignitate ipsorum ac Romani nominis, et in rebus
8 deinde gerendis—proconsul enim ad exercitum
mansit [3]—summa concordia fuit.[4]
9 Paucis post diebus consul contionem apud milites
10 habuit. Orsus a parricidio Persei perpetrato in
fratrem, cogitato in parentem, adiecit post scelere
partum regnum veneficia, caedes, latrocinio nefando
petitum Eumenen, iniurias in populum Romanum,
direptiones sociarum urbium contra foedus.
Ea omnia quam diis quoque invisa essent, sensurum
11 in exitu rerum suarum: favere enim pietati fideique
deos, per quae populus Romanus ad tantum fastigii
12 venerit. Vires deinde populi Romani, iam terrarum
orbem complectentis, cum viribus Macedoniae, exercitus cum exercitibus comparavit: quanto maiores Philippi Antiochique opes non maioribus copiis fractas esse?

[1] intentam *Novák, Giarratano*: iunctam *V*: cunctam *Fr*: unicam *J. F. Gronovius*: iustam *Kreyssig*: iniunctam *Zingerle*: arctam *Damsté*: adstrictam *vel* strictam *Roobol.*
[2] inspexisset *Manutius*: inexisset *V.*
[3] mansit *add. H. J. Müller*: *om. V.*
[4] summa concordia fuit *add. Wesenberg*: *om. V.*

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[1] For the attacks of Perseus against his brother, cf. XL. v ff. and xx ff.; in XL. lvi. 9, Philip is represented as having died in anger against Perseus, but Livy gives no description of the plot here alleged.





the other hand having accustomed the soldiery to B.C. 169
strict military discipline in place of uncontrolled laxness and having loyally furthered the interests of the allies and protected them from any kind of harm. On hearing of his successor's approach, he carefully inspected his men, their arms, and their horses, and with his army in parade order went to meet the approaching consul. Not only was the first meeting of the commanders in accord with the high station both of the men themselves and of the Roman name, but the utmost harmony prevailed in their subsequent operations, for the proconsul remained with the army.

A few days later the consul addressed a meeting of his soldiers. Beginning with the unnatural crimes of Perseus committed against his brother and planned against his father,[1] he went on to mention the acquisition of the throne by crime, the subsequent poisonings and slaughter, the attack by scoundrelly bandits on Eumenes, the wrongs committed by Perseus against the Roman people, and the plunderings of cities allied to them, contrary to treaty.

"How hateful all these actions are to the gods also," said the consul, "Perseus will discover in the outcome of his enterprises; for the gods support the cause of duty and faithfulness, the qualities by which the Roman people has climbed to so great an eminence." The consul then compared the strength of the Roman people, who now controlled the whole earth, with that of Macedonia, and the military forces of the one with the other, and asked how much greater were the resources of Philip and Antiochus, which had been shattered by forces no greater than this Roman army?

A.U.C. 585

II. Huius generis adhortatione accensis militum animis consultare de summa gerendi belli coepit. Eo et C. Marcius praetor a Chalcide classe accepta venit.
2 Placuit non ultra morando in Thessalia tempus terere, sed movere extemplo castra atque inde
3 pergere in [1] Macedoniam, et praetorem dare operam, ut eodem tempore classis quoque invehatur hostium litoribus.

4 Praetore dimisso consul menstruum frumentum [2] iusso milite secum ferre profectus decumo post die,
5 quam exercitum acceperat, castra movit; et unius diei progressus iter convocatis itinerum ducibus cum exponere in consilio [3] iussisset, qua quisque ducturus esset, summotis iis, quam potissimum viam [4] peteret,
6 rettulit ad consilium. Aliis per Pythoum placebat via, aliis per Cambunios montes, qua priore anno duxerat Hostilius consul, aliis praeter Ascuridem
7 paludem. Restabat aliquantum viae communis; itaque in id tempus, quo prope divortium itinerum castra posituri erant, deliberatio eius rei differtur.
8 In Perrhaebiam inde ducit, et inter Azorum et Dolichen stativa habuit ad consulendum rursus, quam
9 potissimum capesseret viam. Per eosdem dies Perseus cum adpropinquare hostem sciret, quod iter

[1] atque inde pergere in *Kreyssig*: adque inde peregre inde in *V*.
[2] frumentum *add. Madvig*: *om. V*.
[3] exponere in consilio *J. F. Gronovius*: exponerent in concilio *V*.
[4] viam *add. Novák, Ceské*: *post* quam *Sigonius*: *om. V*.

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[1] For Pythoüs, cf. XLII. liii. 6 and below, xxxii. 9 and xxxv. 15. Perseus entered Thessaly by the Cambunian Mountain route, cf. XLII. liii. 6; Livy's account of the march of





II. After the consul had aroused the ardour of B.C. 169
the soldiers by a speech to this effect, he began to hold councils on strategy. Gaius Marcius the praetor, after picking up the fleet at Chalcis, arrived in camp. It was decided not to waste more time by lingering in Thessaly, but to break camp at once and proceed thence into Macedonia, while the praetor was to make sure that the fleet should simultaneously attack the hostile coast-line.

After the praetor's departure, the consul ordered his soldiers to take with them grain for a month and broke camp nine days after having assumed command; after a day's march, he summoned the guides for various routes, bade each explain before the council the route by which he would guide them, and then, after dismissing the guides, laid before the council the question of which route to choose. Some preferred the road via Pythoüs; others the one over the Cambunian Mountains used the preceding year by the consul Hostilius; others, a route past Lake Ascuris.[1] For a certain distance yet there was no divergence in the routes; therefore the discussion as to this choice was postponed until they should encamp near the point of separation of the roads. Thence the consul led his army into Perrhaebia and settled down between Azorus and Doliche [2] for further conference as to the road to take. During the same time Perseus, knowing that the enemy was approach-

Hostilius seems to have disappeared in one of the lacunae, cf. p. 14 n. 7. Volustana, mentioned below, sec. 10, is at the north-east end of this route, next to Mt. Olympus. Lake Ascuris is the modern Nezeros.

[2] This seems to have been farther west than necessary for the Ascuris route.

A.U.C. 585

petiturus esset, ignarus, omnis saltus insidere
10 praesidiis statuit. In iugum Cambuniorum montium —Volustana ipsi vocant—decem milia levis armaturae
11 iuvenum [1] cum duce Asclepiodoto mittit; ad castellum, quod super Ascuridem paludem erat—Lapathus vocatur locus—, Hippias tenere saltum cum duodecim
12 milium Macedonum praesidio iussus. Ipse cum reliquis copiis primo circa Dium stativa habuit; deinde adeo inops consilii,[2] ut obtorpuisse videretur, cum equitibus expeditis litore nunc Heracleum,[3] nunc Philam percurrebat, eodem inde cursu Dium repetens.

III. Interim consuli sententia stetit eo saltu ducere, ubi propter Ottolobum dux regius castra
2 habebat.[4] Praemitti tamen quattuor milia armatorum ad loca opportuna praeoccupanda placuit, quibus [5] praepositi sunt M. Claudius, Q. Marcius
3 consulis filius. Confestim et universae copiae sequebantur. Ceterum adeo ardua et aspera et confragosa fuit via,[6] ut praemissi expediti biduo quindecim milium passuum aegre itinere confecto castra

[1] *sic V*: iuvenum *del. H. J. Müller*: alienigenum *vel* plurium gentium *Madvig*: varium genus *M. Müller.*

[2] deinde adeo inops consilii *Hartel*: deinde adeo ut obtorpuisse inops consilii *V*: deinde a Dio, ne obtorpuisse inops consilii *Gitlbauer.*

[3] Heracleum *J. F. Gronovius*: Heracleam *V.*

[4] dux regius castra habebat *Hartel*: duximus regis castra *V.*

[5] quibus *Wesenberg*: qui *V.*

[6] via *add. H. J. Müller*: *om. V*: confragosa via fuit *Fr.*

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[1] "Young men" seems superfluous, and editors are inclined to substitute an expression suggesting whence the troops came.

[2] Asclepiodotus is mentioned in XLII. li. 7 as a commander of Gauls; Hippias appears in XLII. li. 3 and lix. 7 as a commander of phalanx-men.





ing, but unaware which route he would choose, B.C. 169
decided to occupy all the passes with forces. To the summit of the Cambunian Mountains (which the Macedonians themselves call Volustana) he sent ten thousand light-armed young men [1] under the command of Asclepiodotus; near the fort above Lake Ascuris—Lapathus is the name of the place—Hippias was ordered to hold the pass with a force of twelve thousand Macedonians.[2] The king himself with the rest of his forces remained in camp near Dium; later, so planlessly that he seemed to have lost his mind, he would dash with some unencumbered cavalry along the shore, now to Heracleum, now to Phila, returning without halt to Dium.[3]

III. Meanwhile the consul had settled on the plan of proceeding by the pass where the king's officer was encamped near Ottolobus.[4] It was decided, however, to send ahead four thousand men to seize valuable advance positions; the commanders of this force were Marcus Claudius and Quintus Marcius, the son of the consul. Immediately the whole Roman army followed. However, so steep, rough, and rugged was the road that the advance forces, travelling light, barely completed a two days' march of fifteen miles

[3] This patrolling may not have been as senseless as Livy would have it; Livy seems to be convinced that the gods made Perseus mad, preparatory to destroying him; but if Perseus had happened upon the Romans when they actually came down from the mountains, it would have been to his advantage. Cf. Diodorus XXX. 10 for the same view of Perseus' folly; *ibid.* 2 elaborates the incident told below, vi. 1.

[4] *I.e.*, the pass by Lake Ascuris. Cf. Herodotus VII. 128 on Xerxes' choice of routes in 480 B.C.; he went via Perrhaebia and Gonnus.

A.U.C. 585

posuerint. Dierum, quem [1] cepere, locum appellant.
4 Inde postero die septem milia progressi, tumulo haud procul hostium castris capto, nuntium ad consulem remittunt perventum ad hostem esse; loco se tuto et ad omnia opportuno consedisse; quantum [2]
5 extendere iter posset, consequeretur. Sollicito consuli et propter itineris difficultatem, quod ingressus erat, et eorum vicem, quos paucos inter media praesidia hostium praemiserat, nuntius ad Ascuridem palu-
6 dem occurrit. Addita igitur et ipsi fiducia est, coniunctisque copiis castra tumulo, qui tenebatur, qua aptissimum ad loci naturam erat, sunt acclinata.
7 Non hostium modo castra, quae paulo plus mille passuum aberant, sed omnis regio ad Dium et Philam oraque maris late patente ex tam alto iugo prospectu
8 oculis subicitur. Quae res accendit militi animos, postquam summam belli ac regias omnis copias terramque hostilem tam e propinquo conspexerunt.
9 Itaque cum alacres, protinus duceret ad castra hostium, consulem hortarentur, dies unus fessis labore
10 viae ad quietem datus est. Tertio die parte copiarum ad praesidium castrorum relicta consul ad hostem ducit.

IV. Hippias nuper ad tuendum saltum ab rege missus erat; qui ex quo castra Romana in tumulo conspexit, praeparatis ad certamen animis suorum venienti agmini consulis obvius fuit. Et Romani

[1] posuerint. Dierum quem *Novák*: posuerint fuerimque dierumquē *V*: posuerint quieverintque. Dierum quem *Madvig*: posuerint requieverintque. Dierum quem *Vahlen*: posuerint fuerintque ibi illa nocte. Dierum quem *Goldbacher*.

[2] quantum *H. J. Müller*: ut quantum *V*.





B.C. 169

before pitching camp. The place they occupied is called Dierus. Thence on the following day they advanced seven miles, seized a hill not far from the enemy's camp, and reported by messenger to the consul that they were in contact with the enemy, that they had occupied a place safe and suitable for all purposes, and that he should follow them as rapidly as he could march. While the consul was worrying both over the difficulty of the journey upon which he had entered and over the fate of the small force which he had sent ahead into the midst of hostile garrisons, he was met by the messenger near Lake Ascuris. The consul thereupon gained confidence, and after joining the advance force encamped beneath the hill which had been seized, in the place best adapted through the nature of the terrain. Not only the enemy camp, a little over a mile away, but the whole region to Dium, Phila, and the seashore was before their eyes in the extensive view from so lofty a ridge. This sight roused the spirits of the soldiery, after they had a birdseye view of the whole campaign including all the king's forces and the land of the enemy, from so near by. Although the soldiers, made eager by this sight, urged the consul to lead them at once to the enemy's camp, one day's rest was given them, since they were weary from the toil of the march. Next day, the consul, leaving part of his forces to guard the camp, advanced against the enemy.

IV. Hippias had recently been sent by the king to guard the pass; as soon as he saw the Roman camp on its hill, he roused the spirits of his men to combat; and now he marched out against the oncoming column of the consul. The Romans had come out unencum-

A.U.C. 585 expediti ad pugnam exierant, et hostes levis armatura
2 erat, promptissimum genus ad lacessendum certa-
3 men. Congressi igitur extemplo tela coniecerunt; multa utrimque volnera temerario incursu et accepta
4 et inlata; pauci utriusque partis ceciderunt. Inritatis in posterum diem animis maioribus copiis atque infestius concursum est; decrevissentque de summa belli, si loci[1] satis ad explicandam aciem fuisset; sed[2] iugum montis in angustum dorsum cuneatum vix ternis ordinibus armatorum in fronte patuit.
5 Itaque paucis pugnantibus cetera multitudo praecipue qui gravium armorum erant, spectatores pugnae sta-
6 bant; levis armatura etiam per anfractus iugi procurrere et ab lateribus cum levi armatura conserere per iniqua atque aequa loca pugnam poterat. Pluribus[3] ea[4] die volneratis quam interfectis proelium nocte diremptum est.

7 Tertio die egere consilio Romanus imperator; nam neque manere in iugo inopi neque regredi sine flagitio atque etiam periculo, si cedenti[5] ex superi-
8 oribus locis instaret[6] hostis, poterat; nec aliud restabat[7] quam audacter commissum pertinaci audacia, quae prudens interdum in exitu est, corrigere.
9 Ventum quidem erat eo ut, si hostem similem antiquis Macedonum regibus habuisset consul, magna clades

[1] concursum est; decrevissentque de summa belli, si loci *Vahlen*: concursum abellisin loci *V*: concursum ab utrisque esset illic, si loci *Hartel*: concursum esset insequenti die pugnatumque de summa belli, si loci *Weissenborn*.
[2] sed *add. Vahlen*: *om. V*.
[3] poterat. Pluribus *Madvig*: patere ad pluribus *V*.





bered for battle and the enemy were light troops, a type very ready to stir up combat. Therefore immediately on meeting they discharged their weapons; many wounds were both received and inflicted by either side in the hasty encounter; small numbers of both forces were killed. Now that their spirits had been roused for the succeeding day, a more stubborn clash of larger forces occurred; and the decisive battle of the war would have been fought if there had been room enough to deploy the battle line; but the ridge of the mountain running up to a narrow peak barely allowed for a front of three files. And so while a few fought, the large remainder, especially the heavy-armed, stood by as onlookers of the battle. Light forces were also able to charge forward over the rolling slopes of the ridge and engage the opposing light forces in flanking attacks over terrain favourable and unfavourable. More had been wounded than killed that day when the battle was broken off at nightfall. B.C. 169

On the third day the Roman commander was at a loss; for he could neither remain on the ridge without supplies nor retire without disgrace and even danger, if the enemy pursued his retreat from the higher ground. There remained indeed no alternative to amending a bold undertaking by persistent boldness, which is occasionally wise in the long run. In fact, the position was such that, had the consul confronted an enemy like to the old-time kings of Macedonia, he

[4] ea *V*: eo *Fraenkel*.
[5] periculo, si cedenti *Muretus*: periculose cedenti *V*.
[6] instaret *Muretus*: stare *V*.
[7] restabat *ed. Bas.* 1535: stabat *V*: instabat *Rossbach*.

A.U.C. 585 accipi potuerit. Sed cum ad Dium per litora cum equitibus vagaretur rex et ab duodecim milibus prope clamorem et strepitum pugnantium audiret, nec auxit copias integros fessis summittendo neque ipse,
10 quod plurimum intererat, certamini adfuit, cum Romanus imperator, maior sexaginta annis et praegravis corpore, omnia militaria munera ipse impigre
11 obiret. Egregie ad ultimum in audaciter commisso perseveravit et Popilio relicto in custodia iugi per invia transgressurus praemissis,[1] qui[2] repurgarent iter, Attalum et Misagenem cum suae gentis utrumque auxiliaribus praesidio esse saltum aperientibus
12 iubet; ipse equites impedimentaque prae se habens cum legionibus agmen cogit.

V. Inenarrabilis labor descendentibus cum ruina iumentorum sarcinarumque. Progressis vixdum quattuor milia passuum nihil optabilius esse[3] quam
2 redire, qua venerant, si possent. Hostilem prope tumultum agmini elephanti praebebant, qui, ubi ad invia venerant, deiectis rectoribus cum horrendo stridore pavorem ingentem, equis maxime, incutie-
3 bant, donec traducendi eos ratio inita est. Per proclive sumpto fastigio longi duo validi asseres ex inferiore parte in terra defigebantur, distantes inter
4 se paulo plus quam quanta beluae[4] latitudo est; in

[1] transgressurus praemissis *Weissenborn*: transgressus peremissis *V*.
[2] qui *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[3] optabilius esse *Fr*: obtabilius esset *V*, *quod servat Harant*, ut *vel* fuit ut *ante* progressis *addito*.
[4] beluae *Fr*: ve *V*.

[1] This passage illustrates the strength of Livy's dramatic sense, and his weakness as a military commentator; but he had reason to point out the rashness of Marcius, who had once been badly defeated by the Ligurians because he rushed into a narrow pass without reconnaissance (XXXIX. xx. 5–10).





might have suffered a great disaster.[1] But though B.C. 169
the king was scouring the shore near Dium with cavalry, and at a distance of twelve miles could almost hear the shouts and din of the fighting men, he neither added to his forces by reinforcing his weary men with fresh troops, nor did he himself appear on the battle-field—a matter of greatest moment—although the Roman commander, aged over sixty and overburdened with flesh, performed vigorously in person all the duties of a soldier. Magnificently he pursued his bold undertaking to the end; he left Popilius to guard the ridge during his advance over pathless ground, sent ahead men to clear out a road, and ordered Attalus and Misagenes, each with the auxiliaries of his own nation, to act as guard for the men clearing the pass. The consul himself sent the cavalry and baggage ahead of him and brought up the rear with the legions.

V. The toil of the descent and the damage to baggage-animals and their loads cannot be put into words. After they had advanced a mere four miles, they would have given anything to return as they had come, if they but could. The confusion of an attack by an enemy was caused by the elephants, which on arriving at the pathless places cast off their mahouts and with horrible trumpetings caused a great panic, especially among the horses, until a plan was devised for getting them through. On the steep hillside the slope was marked off, and at the lower end two long strong posts were set in the ground, separated by a distance slightly greater than the width of one of the beasts; on a cross-beam laid

A.U.C. 585

eos transverso incumbente tigno asses[1] tricenos longi pedes, ut pons esset, iniungebantur humusque
5 insuper iniciebatur. Modico deinde infra intervallo similis alter pons, dein tertius et plures ex ordine,
6 qua rupes abscisae erant, fiebant. Solido procedebat[2] elephantus in pontem; cuius priusquam in extremum procederet,[3] succisis asseribus conlapsus pons usque ad[4] alterius initium pontis prolabi eum
7 leniter cogebat. Alii elephanti pedibus insistentes, alii clunibus subsidentes prolabebantur. Ubi planities altera pontis excepisset eos, rursus simili ruina inferioris pontis deferebantur, donec ad aequiorem vallem perventum est.

8 Paulo plus septem milia eo die[5] Romani processerunt; minimum pedibus itineris confectum. Plerumque provolventes se simul cum armis aliisque oneribus cum omni genere vexationis processerunt, adeo ut[6] ne dux quidem et auctor itineris infitiaretur parva
9 manu deleri omnem exercitum potuisse. Nocte ad modicam planitiem pervenerunt; nec quam infestus[7] is locus esset saeptus undique circumspiciendi spatium fuit vix tandem ex insperato stabilem ad
10 insistendum nanctis locum. Postero quoque die in tam cava valle opperiri Popilium ac relictas cum eo

[1] asses *Madvig*: as *V*.
[2] procedebat *J. F. Gronovius*: praecedebat *V*.
[3] procederet *Fr*: cederet *V*: incederet *Rossbach*.
[4] ad *add. Kreyssig*: *om. V*.
[5] septem milia eo die *J. F. Gronovius*: vii die *V*.
[6] ut *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[7] nec quam infestus *Madvig*: ne quā infectus *V*.





upon these posts, planks, each thirty feet long, were B.C. 169
fastened together to form a runway, and earth thrown on top of them.[1] Next, at a slight interval below, a second runway of the same sort was built, then a third, and others one after the other, where the cliffs were sheer. From firm ground an elephant would advance on to the runway; before he could proceed to its end, the posts were cut and the tilting of the runway forced the animal to slide gently to the head of the next runway. Some of the elephants would slide standing erect, others would squat on their haunches. Whenever they were met with the level expanse of another runway, they were again carried down by a like collapse of the lower structure, until they arrived at the more passable valley.

The Romans advanced on that day hardly more than seven miles. Very little of the journey did they accomplish on their feet. Usually they advanced by casting themselves down, arms, baggage, and all, while meeting with every kind of difficulty, so that even the leader who had chosen the route could not deny that a small force could have destroyed the whole army. By nightfall they reached a scant level area, nor did men who had unexpectedly at long last found a place which offered sure footing, have the leisure to observe the unfriendly nature of the place, hemmed in as it was on all sides. For the next day as well they were compelled to wait in the depths of this valley for Popilius and the troops left behind

[1] As with Hannibal's use of vinegar for breaking rock (XXI. xxxvii. 2), this passage leaves several questions unanswered, including the question of whether it ever happened. We can say that either Livy or a copyist left out of the account of the runway a mention of the stringers which would be necessary; the "thirty-foot planks" somehow have replaced these stringers and the transverse planks which presumably would provide the flooring.

A.U.C. 585 copias necesse fuit; quos et ipsos, cum ab nulla parte
hostis terruisset, locorum asperitas hostiliter vexavit.
11 Tertio die coniunctis copiis eunt per saltum, quem
12 incolae Callipeucen appellant. Quarto[1] inde die
per aeque invia, sed adsuetudine peritius et meliore
cum spe, quod nec hostis usquam[2] apparebat et mari
adpropinquabant, degressi in campos inter Hera-
cleum[3] et Libethrum posuerunt castra quorum pars
13 maior tumulos tenebat. Ibi pedes tendebat. Vallo
campi[4] quoque partem, ubi eques tenderet, amplecte-
bantur.

VI. Lavanti regi dicitur nuntiatum hostis adesse.
Quo nuntio cum pavidus exiluisset e solio, victum se
2 sine proelio clamitans proripuit; et subinde per alia
atque alia pavida consilia et imperia trepidans duos ex
amicis, Pellam alterum, ut, quae ad Phacum[5] pecunia
deposita erat, in mare proiceret, Thessalonicam
alterum, ut navalia incenderet, misit; Asclepiodotum
et Hippiam, quique cum iis erant,[6] ex praesidiis
3 revocat omnisque aditus aperit bello. ipse ab Dio
auratis statuis omnibus raptis,[7] ne praeda hosti essent,
4 incolas eius loci demigrare[8] Pydnam cogit, et, quae

[1] Quarto *Sigonius*: tertio *V*.
[2] usquam *Sigonius*: umquam *V*.
[3] Heracleum *J. F. Gronovius*: Haracetum *V*.
[4] castra . . . campi *H. J. Müller*: castra peditum quorū pars maior tumulos tenebat ibi valle campi *V*.
[5] ut quae ad Phacum *Madvig*: usque ad Pathum *V*.
[6] in mare . . . cum iis erant *add. Madvig*, qui navalia *scribens*: ut navalia *H. J. Müller*: *om. V*.
[7] raptis *Kreyssig*: rapti *V*.
[8] incolas eius loci demigrare *Kreyssig*: in classe iustoci demigrasse *V*.

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[1] The name (Fair Pines) suggests a forested area.





with him. These troops too, though threatened from B.C. 169
no direction by the enemy, were harassed as by an enemy by the ruggedness of the terrain. On the third day, they proceeded with the united forces through the pass called Callipeuce[1] by the natives. On the fourth day, they descended through country as pathless as before, but their skill was greater through practice, and their morale was higher, since the enemy had not showed himself anywhere and they were reaching the sea. On reaching the plains between Heracleum and Libethrum they pitched a camp, most of which occupied hills. This was the infantry camp; they embraced part of the plain too within the rampart, where the cavalry might encamp.

VI. The king was in his bath, they say, when the presence of the enemy was announced. At this message he leapt in terror from his tub and dashed out crying that he had been beaten without a battle. And thereafter, as his terror drove him to a succession of fear-struck plans and orders, he sent out two of his friends, one to Pella to cast into the sea the money stored in Phacus,[2] the other to Thessalonica to burn the dockyards. He recalled Asclepiodotus and Hippias and their forces from outpost duty and opened every approach for attack. The king ran off with all the gilded statues at Dium, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, and compelled the inhabitants of that region to move to Pydna. Thereby

[2] The citadel of Pella, cf. below, x. 3; xlvi. 6; Polybius XXIX. 3 and XXXI. 17 (25); Diodorus XXX. 11. It is not clear why the treasure was thrown into the sea, and not simply dumped into the marshy lake which washed the walls of Phacus, but the recovery of most of the treasure by divers sounds as if it had been dumped on clean bottom.

A.U.C. 585 temeritas consulis videri potuisset, quod eo processisset, unde invito hoste regredi nequiret, eam non
5 inconsultam [1] audaciam fecit. Duos enim saltus, per quos inde evadere possent, habebant Romani, unum per Tempe in Thessaliam, alterum in Macedoniam praeter Dium; quae utraque regiis tenebantur
6 praesidiis. Itaque si sua intrepidus defendens [2] primam speciem adpropinquantis terroris sustinuisset, neque receptus Romanis per Tempe in Thessaliam neque commeatibus [3] pervehendis ea [4] patuisset iter.
7 Sunt enim Tempe saltus,[5] etiamsi non bello fiat
8 infestus, transitu difficilis. Nam praeter angustias per quinque milia, qua exiguum iumento onusto iter est, rupes utrimque ita abscisae sunt, ut despici vix sine vertigine quadam simul oculorum animique possit. Terret et sonitus et altitudo per mediam
9 vallem fluentis Penei amnis. Hic locus tam suapte natura infestus per quattuor distantia loca praesidiis
10 regiis [6] fuit insessus. Unum in primo aditu ad Gonnum erat, alterum in Condylo,[7] castello inexpug-
11 nabili, tertium circa Lapathunta, quem Characa appellant, quartum viae ipsi, qua et media et angustissima valles est, impositum, quam vel decem armatis
12 tueri facile est. Intercluso per Tempe simul aditu

[1] inconsultam *Sigonius*: consultam *V*.
[2] itaque si sua intrepidus defendens *H. J. Müller*: itque si dua intrepidus x dies *V*: itaque si paucos intrepidus rex dies *Madvig*: itaque si rex intrepidus Dium defendens *Koch*.
[3] neque receptus . . . commeatibus *Fr*: neq. receptus Romanus partem in Tessaliam nequer commeatibus *V*.
[4] ea *Madvig*: eo *V*.
[5] sunt enim Tempe saltus *Fr*: sunt enimp. saltus *V*.
[6] regiis *J. F. Gronovius*: regis *V*.
[7] in Condylo *Drakenborch*: Condylon *V*.





what might have seemed the rashness of the consul B.C. 169 in advancing to a position from which he could not retire without the consent of the enemy, was turned by the king into well-calculated boldness. For the Romans had two passes by which they could extricate themselves: one through Tempe into Thessaly, the other into Macedonia past Dium. Both of the passes were being held by the king's forces; therefore if the king, by fearlessly holding his own, had resisted the first false appearance of approaching danger, he would have left the Romans no retreat through Tempe to Thessaly, nor any route for bringing up provisions from that direction.[1] For even without the opposition of an enemy Tempe is a defile difficult of passage; for besides five miles of narrows through which the road is cramped for a loaded animal, the cliffs on either side are so sheer that one can hardly look down without some dizziness of eye and brain. An additional source of fear is the roar and depth of the Peneüs River flowing through the midst of the canyon. This place, so unfriendly by its very nature, was blocked at four separate points by the king's garrisons. One was at the very entrance near Gonnus, the second at Condylus, an impregnable fort, the third in the vicinity of Lapathus, which they call the Palisade, the fourth set by the road itself where the canyon, in the middle of its course, is at its narrowest, where it can easily be defended by no more than ten soldiers. If the Romans' access to

[1] Livy neglects the possibility of supply by sea, on which the consul seems to have relied, see below, vii. 10; this is probably due to the characteristic preoccupation of a Roman with the land, though one must admit that the passage above cited shows that the fleet was badly handled, and the coast presumably was difficult, cf. below, xlii. 5–6.

A.U.C. 585

commeatibus, simul reditu ipsis,[1] montes, per quos
13 descenderant, repetendi erant. Quod, ut furto fefellerant, ita propalam tenentibus superiora cacumina hostibus non poterant; et experta difficultas
14 spem omnem incidisset. Supererat nihil aliud in temere commisso quam in Macedoniam ad Dium per medios evadere hostis; quod, nisi di mentem regi ademissent,[2] et[3] ipsum ingentis difficultatis erat.
15 Nam cum Olympi radices montis paulo plus quam mille passuum ad mare relinquant spatium, cuius dimidium loci occupat ostium late restagnans Baphyri amnis, partem planitiae aut Iovis templum
16 aut oppidum tenet, reliquum perexiguum fossa modica valloque claudi poterat, et saxorum[4] ad manum silvestrisque materiae tantum erat, ut vel
17 murus obici turresque excitari potuerint. Quorum nihil cum dispexisset caecata mens subito terrore, nudatis omnibus praesidiis patefactisque bello cunctis aditibus Pydnam[5] refugit.

VII. Consul plurimum et praesidii et spei cernens in stultitia et segnitia hostis, remisso nuntio ad Sp. Lucretium Larisam, ut castella relicta ab hoste circa Tempe occuparet, praemisso Popilio ad explorandos transitus circa Dium, postquam patere omnia in
2 omnis partes animadvertit, secundis castris pervenit

[1] ipsis *Madvig*: ipsi *V*.
[2] di mentem regi ademissent *Fr*: di moventem regiam demissent *V*.
[3] et *add. Büttner*: *om. V*.
[4] saxorum *ed. Bas. 1535*: Thessalorum *V*.
[5] patefactisque bello cunctis aditibus Pydnam *Vahlen*: patefactisquae bello factis ad dypylam *V*.

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[1] For this famous temple, cf. Polybius IV. 62.
[2] On this section, cf. Polybius XXVIII. 10. 11 (9a. 12). Lucretius had been praetor in 172 B.C., cf. XLII. ix. 8.





supplies through Tempe, as well as their line of retreat, had been cut off, they would have had to return to the mountains through which they had descended. As they had deceived the enemy in this by stealth, they could not duplicate the feat without concealment and while the enemy were in possession of the higher summits; and the difficulty they had undergone would have laid low all hope. There was no alternative left in this rash enterprise but to get out into Macedonia past Dium in the teeth of the enemy, and this undertaking, had not the gods deprived the king of his wits, would itself have been of the utmost difficulty. For between the foothills of Mount Olympus and the sea lies an interval of a little more than a mile, half of which space is taken up with the broad estuary of the Baphyrus River, while part of the plain is obstructed by either the temple of Jupiter[1] or the town. The very small remainder could have been barred off by a ditch of no extravagant size and a palisade, and there was such an abundance of stone and of forest timber at hand that even a wall could have been thrown up and towers erected. Since none of these possibilities revealed themselves to a mind blinded by sudden panic, the king stripped away all his defences and opened every approach to assault before taking refuge in Pydna. B.C. 169

VII. The consul sighted much security as well as hope in the folly and inaction of the king; he sent back a message to Spurius Lucretius[2] at Larisa to seize the forts abandoned by the enemy in the region of Tempe, and sending Popilius to reconnoitre the crossings around Dium, arrived at that city in two days' march, since he learned that everything lay open in all directions. He ordered his camp to be

A.U.C. 585 ad Dium metarique sub ipso templo, ne quid sacro in
3 loco violaretur, iussit. Ipse urbem ingressus, sicut non magnam, ita exornatam publicis locis et multitudine statuarum munitamque egregie, vix satis credere in tantis rebus sine causa relictis non aliquem subesse
4 dolum. Unum diem ad exploranda circa omnia moratus castra movet; satisque credens in Pieria[1] frumenti copiam fore, eo die ad amnem nomine
5 Mityn processit. Postero die progressus Agassas[2] urbem tradentibus sese ipsis recepit; et ut reliquorum Macedonum animos sibi conciliaret, obsidibus contentus sine praesidio relinquere se iis urbem immunesque ac suis legibus victuros est pollicitus.
6 Progressus inde diei iter ad Ascordum flumen posuit castra; et quantum procederet longius a Thessalia,
7 eo maiorem rerum omnium inopiam sentiens, regressus ad Dium est dubitatione omnibus exempta, quid intercluso ab Thessalia patiendum fuisset, cui procul inde abscedere tutum non esset.

8 Perseus coactis[3] in unum omnibus copiis ducibusque increpare praefectos praesidiorum, ante
9 omnes Asclepiodotum atque Hippiam; ab his dicere claustra Macedoniae tradita Romanis esse; cuius culpae reus nemo iustius quam ipse fuisset.

10 Consuli postquam ex alto conspecta classis spem fecit cum commeatu naves venire—ingens enim

[1] in Pieria *Kreyssig*: imperia *V*: *ita et infra*, viii. 3.
[2] Agassas *J. F. Gronovius*: acassam *V*.
[3] coactis *Weissenborn*: peractis *V*.

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[1] Among these statues were the portraits by Lysippus of the twenty-five Cavalry Companions killed at the battle of the Granicus, cf. Arrian, *Anabasis* I. 16. 4.





pitched next to the temple itself, so that no sacrilege B.C. 169
against the sacred precinct might be committed. On personally inspecting the city which, though not large, was adorned with public installations and an abundance of statues[1] and was magnificently fortified, the consul could hardly convince himself that no ruse lurked in the unreasonable abandonment of such remarkable objects. After a day's delay for general reconnaissance all around, he advanced, and being convinced that there would be abundant grain in Pieria, he proceeded on that day to a river named Mitys. Continuing on the following day, he accepted the surrender of the city of Agassae by its inhabitants; and to win over the hearts of the other Macedonians, he contented himself with hostages and promised to leave the city to its people without garrison, and to accord them autonomy and freedom from tribute. Advancing thence a day's journey, he encamped by the Ascordus River. Because he felt more strongly the want of every sort of supplies the further he advanced from Thessaly, he retired to Dium, thereby demonstrating beyond a doubt to everyone what he would have suffered had he been cut off from Thessaly, since he found it unsafe to advance far from there.

After Perseus had assembled all his forces and officers, he blamed the commanders of his outposts, above all Asclepiodotus and Hippias; they, he said, had surrendered the keys to Macedonia to the Romans—a crime for which no one would have been more justly prosecuted than himself.

After the sight of the Roman fleet at sea had brought to the consul hope that the ships were bringing provisions—for there was a great scarcity of grain and almost a famine—he heard from the men just

A.U.C. 585

caritas annonae ac prope inopia erat—ab invectis
iam portum audit onerarias naves Magnesiae relictas
11 esse. Incerto inde quidnam agendum foret—adeo
sine ulla ope hostis, quae adgravaret, cum ipsa
difficultate rerum pugnandum erat—peropportune
12 litterae a Sp. Lucretio adlatae sunt castella se, quae
super Tempe essent et circa Philan, tenere omnia
frumentique in iis et aliarum in usum rerum copiam
invenisse.

VIII His magno opere laetus consul ab Dio ad
Philan ducit, simul ut praesidium eius firmaret, simul
ut militi frumentum, cuius tarda subvectio erat,
2 divideret. Ea profectio famam haudquaquam
secundam habuit. Nam alii metu recessisse eum ab
hoste ferebant quia manenti in Pieria proelio dimi-
3 candum foret, alii ignarum belli quae in dies fortuna
novaret, ut opperientibus sese rebus, emisisse[1] de
4 manibus ea quae mox repeti non possent. Simul
enim cessit possessione Dii, excitavit hostem, ut
tunc sentiret recuperanda esse quae prius culpa
5 amissa forent. Audita enim profectione consulis
regressus Dium, quae disiecta ac vastata ab Romanis
erant, reficit, pinnas moenium decussas reponit, ab
omni parte muros firmat; deinde quinque milia
passuum ab urbe citra ripam Elpei amnis[2] castra
ponit, amnem ipsum transitu perdifficilem pro
6 munimento habiturus. Fluit ex valle Olympi mon-
tis, aestate exiguus, hibernis idem incitatus pluviis et

[1] rebus emisisse *Kreyssig*: reb. omisisse *V*.
[2] ripam Elpei amnis *Madvig*: ripam enipi añis *V*.





come into port that the freight ships had been left B.C. 169 in Magnesia. As the consul was debating what should be done—so completely was his struggle directed against the mere difficulty of the situation, without the slightest effort on the part of the enemy to make matters worse—in the nick of time a despatch arrived from Spurius Lucretius that he was in possession of the forts above Tempe and around Phila, and that he had found a supply of grain and other useful materials in them.

VIII. Greatly pleased by this news, the consul moved from Dium to Phila, both to strengthen its garrison and to distribute to the soldiers the grain, transportation of which was slow. This march started unpleasant rumours; for some put it that he had retired from before the enemy out of fear, because he would have had to fight a battle if he had remained in Pieria, while others said that in his ignorance of the daily fluctuations in the fortunes of war, and as if events were awaiting his signal, he had dropped from his grasp advantages which presently could not be recovered. For at one move he had lost his grip on Dium and had stirred up the enemy to perceiving at long last that he must recover what previously he had shamefully lost. For on hearing of the departure of the consul, the king returned to Dium, rebuilt what had been cast down and despoiled by the Romans, replaced the battlements knocked off the walls, and strengthened the walls all around. Then he placed his camp five miles from the city on the nearer bank of the Elpeüs River, intending to use the river itself as a fortification since it was very hard to cross. It flows from a ravine of Mount Olympus, is scanty in summer, but again in

A.U.C. 585

supra rupes ingentis gurgites facit et infra prorutam [1] in mare evolvendo terram praealtas voragines cava-
7 toque medio alveo ripas utrimque praecipitis. Hoc flumine saeptum iter hostis [2] credens extrahere reliquum tempus aestatis in animo habebat.

8 Inter haec consul a Phila Popilium cum duobus
9 milibus armatorum Heracleum [3] mittit. Abest a Phila quinque milia ferme passuum, media regione inter Dium Tempeque in rupe amni imminente positum.

IX. Popilius priusquam armatos muris admoveret, misit qui magistratibus principibusque suaderent, fidem clementiamque Romanorum quam vim experiri
2 mallent. Nihil ea consilia moverunt, quia ignes ad Elpeum [4] ex regiis castris apparebant. Tum terra marique—et classis adpulsa ab litore stabat—simul armis, simul operibus machinisque oppugnari coepti.
3 Iuvenes etiam quidam Romani ludicro circensi ad usum belli verso partem humillimam muri ceperunt.
4 Mos erat tum, nondum hac effusione inducta bestiis omnium gentium circum complendi, varia spectaculorum conquirere genera; nam semel quadrigis, semel desultore misso vix unius horae tempus
5 utrumque curriculum complebat. Inter cetera sexageni ferme iuvenes, interdum plures appa-

[1] infra prorutam *J. F. Gronovius*: intrapororupta *V*.
[2] hoc flumine saeptum iter hostis *Novák*: hoc flumine et sospitem se et saeptum iter hostis *Gitlbauer*: hoc flumine hospes et septum iter hostis *V*.
[3] Heracleum *J. F. Gronovius*: Heraclea *V*: *sic et ad ix. 10 et x. 5.*
[4] Elpeum *Madvig*: elipeum *V*.

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[1] Livy notes the beginnings of lavishness in shows as early as 186 B.C., see XXXIX. xxii. 2, XLI. xxvii. 6, and below, xviii. 8.





winter is swollen by rains; it forms great rapids above its boulders, and below, by carrying off the eroded earth to the sea, produces great abysses and banks sheer on either side above a deeply-hollowed channel. Thinking that the enemy's advance was barred by this river, the king intended to use up the rest of the summer. B.C. 169

Meanwhile the consul sent Popilius with two thousand soldiers from Phila to Heracleum. This is about five miles from Phila, on a cliff overhanging the river midway between Dium and Tempe.

IX. Before Popilius brought his men against the walls, he sent envoys to persuade the magistrates and chief citizens to prefer making trial of the good faith and mildness of the Romans rather than of their force. This advice availed nothing, because the fires of the king's camp at the Elpeüs were in sight. Then the siege began, both with assaults and with field-works and engines, both from land and sea, for the fleet, too, had arrived and occupied the shore side.

The younger Romans even captured the lowest part of the wall by turning to military use a performance of the arena. It was the custom then, before there had been introduced the present extravagance [1] of cramming the arena with animals from all over the earth, to hunt out various sorts of spectacles, for one race with four-horse chariots and one with bareback riders hardly occupied the space of an hour for the two events. As one of these performances, groups of about sixty [2] youths (occasionally more at more

[2] Sixty was the usual number of soldiers in the so-called "century."

A.U.C. 585 ratioribus ludis,[1] armati inducebantur. Horum inductio ex parte simulacrum decurrentis exercitus erat, ex parte elegantioris quam [2] militaris artis
6 propiorque gladiatorium armorum usum. Cum alios decursu edidissent motus, quadrato agmine facto, scutis super capita densatis, stantibus primis, secundis summissioribus, tertiis magis et quartis, postremis etiam genu nixis, fastigatam, sicut tecta aedificiorum
7 sunt, testudinem faciebant. Hinc quinquaginta ferme pedum spatio distantes duo armati procurrebant comminatique inter se, ad ima in summam testudinem per densata scuta cum evasissent, nunc velut propugnantes per oras extremae testudinis, nunc in media inter se concurrentes, haud secus quam stabili solo persultabant.

8 Huic testudo similis humillimae parti [3] muri admota. Cum armati superstantes subissent, propugnatoribus muri fastigio altitudinis aequabantur; depulsisque iis in urbem duorum signorum milites
9 transcenderunt. Id tantum dissimile fuit, quod et in fronte extremi et ex lateribus soli non habebant super capita elata scuta, ne nudarent corpora, sed praetenta [4] pugnantium more. Ita nec ipsos tela ex muro missa subeuntis laeserunt et testudini iniecta imbris

[1] apparatioribus ludis *Muretus*: apparitoribus ludi *V*.
[2] elegantioris quam *Kreyssig*: elegantioris exercitus quam *V*.
[3] similis humillimae parti *Madvig*: simillime parti *V*.
[4] praetenta *Latinius*: proiecta *Heraeus*: praetecta *V*.





elaborate games) entered under arms. Their entrance was in some respects an imitation of military manoeuvres, but in other respects was of a style more showy than the military and more akin to the fashion of gladiatorial combats. After passing through various evolutions in this manoeuvre, they would form in ranks, with shields close-set over their heads, the front rank erect, the second somewhat stooped, the third and fourth more so, and the rear rank down on their knees, so that they would form a "tortoise" sloped like the roof of a house. Next two armed men, separated by an interval of some fifty feet, would rush out, feint at each other, and mount from bottom to top of the "tortoise" over the close-set shields. They would then act as if skirmishing at the outer edges of the "tortoise," now clash with each other in the centre, and leap about just as if they were on solid ground. B.C. 169

A "tortoise" like this was brought up to the lowest part of the wall. When soldiers on top came up to the wall, they were at their highest elevation level with the defenders of the wall; the defenders were routed and the soldiers of two maniples [1] crossed into the city. The only difference from the show was that the front rank and those exposed on the flanks did not raise their shields over their heads, but held them out in the usual position for battle in order not to expose their bodies. In this way the missiles hurled from the wall did not injure the men as they approached and those cast on the "tortoise"

[1] Polybius (XXVIII. 11 (12)) says that a third maniple formed the "tortoise." Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus XXVI. 8. 9 for a similar formation.

A.U.C. 585
in modum lubrico fastigio innoxia ad imum labebantur.

10 Et consul capto iam Heracleo castra eo promovit,
tamquam [1] Dium atque inde summoto rege in Pieriam
11 etiam progressurus. Sed hiberna iam praeparans
vias commeatibus subvehendis ex Thessalia muniri
iubet et eligi horreis opportuna loca tectaque aedificari, ubi deversari portantes commeatus possent.

X. Perseus tandem a [2] pavore eo, quo attonitus
fuerat, recepto animo malle imperiis suis non obtemperatum esse, cum trepidans gazam in mare deici
2 Pellae, Thessalonicae navalia iusserat incendi. Andronicus Thessalonicam missus traxerat tempus, id
ipsum quod accidit, paenitentiae relinquens locum.
3 Incautior Nicias Pellae proiciendo pecuniae partem
4 quae fuerat ad Phacum [3]; sed in re emendabili [4]
visus lapsus esse, quod per urinatores omnis ferme extracta est. Tantusque pudor regi pavoris eius fuit ut urinatores clam interfici iusserit, deinde Andronicum quoque et Nician, ne quis tam dementis imperii conscius existeret.

5 Inter haec C. Marcius cum classe ab Heracleo Thessalonicam profectus et agrum pluribus locis expositis per litora armatis late vastavit et procurrentes ab urbe secundis aliquot proeliis trepidos
6 intra moenia compulit. Iamque ipsi urbi terribilis

[1] eo promovit, tamquam *Fr*: eo pervictam quam *V*.

[2] a *add. Sigonius*: *om. V*.

[3] proiciendo pecuniae partem, quae fuerat ad Phacum *Madvig*: prociendae pecuniae partem quidem fuderat in altum *M. Müller*: proiciendae pecuniae partem quod iecerat in altum *Harant*: proiciendae pecuniae partem quod fuerat natum *V*.

[4] in re emendabili *Drakenborch*: in rem emendabilem *V*.





slid harmlessly like rain down to the bottom of the slippery slope. B.C. 169

On capturing Heracleum, the consul advanced his camp there, as if he were going to advance to Dium and thence, after dislodging the king, into Pieria as well. But as he was already making ready for wintering, he ordered the roads from Thessaly to be repaired for the transport of provisions and suitable sites for granaries to be chosen and houses built where those transporting the provisions could lodge.

X. Perseus at length recovered his courage from the panic which had struck him down, and would have preferred that his commands had not been obeyed when he ordered the treasure at Pella to be cast into the sea and the dockyards at Thessalonica to be burned. Andronicus, the envoy to Thessalonica, had killed time to allow for the very thing which happened, a change of mind.[1] Nicias at Pella was less wary in casting away part of the money which was in Phacus, but he seemed to have made his mistake in a manner not irreparable, since almost all the money was brought up by divers. So great was the king's shame at this panic of his that he ordered the divers secretly to be put to death, and after them Andronicus and Nicias, too, so that there should be no one having knowledge of so crazy an order.

Meanwhile, Gaius Marcius set out with the fleet from Heracleum for Thessalonica, ravaged the countryside far and wide by setting ashore forces at several points, and in several successful battles drove back those who sallied from the city headlong within their walls. He was striking terror into the city itself, when

[1] Andronicus is accused by Diodorus XXX. 11 of working in this matter for a Roman victory.

A.U.C. 585

erat, cum dispositis omnis generis tormentis non
vagi modo circa muros temere adpropinquantes, sed
etiam qui in navibus erant, saxis tormento emicanti-
7 bus percutiebantur. Revocatis igitur in naves militi-
bus omissaque Thessalonicae oppugnatione Aeniam
inde petunt. Quindecim milia passuum ea urbs
8 abest, adversus Pydnam posita, fertilis agro. Per-
vastatis finibus eius legentes oram Antigoneam
perveniunt. Ibi egressi in terram primo et vastarunt
agros passim et aliquantum praedae contulerunt ad
9 naves. Dein palatos eos adorti Macedones, mixti
pedites equitesque, fugientes effuse ad mare persecuti
quingentos [1] ferme occiderunt et non minus ceperunt.
10 Nec aliud quam ultima necessitas, cum recipere
se tuto ad naves prohiberentur, animos militum
Romanorum simul desperatione alia salutis simul in-
11 dignitate irritavit. Redintegrata in litore pugna
est; adiuvere [2] qui in navibus erant. Ibi Mace-
donum ducenti ferme caesi, par numerus captus.
Ab Antigonea classis profecta ad agrum Pallenensem
12 escensionem ad populandum fecit. Finium is ager
Cassandrensium erat, longe fertilissimus omnis orae
quam praetervecti fuerant. Ibi Eumenes rex viginti
tectis navibus ab Elaea profectus obvius fuit et quin-
que missae a Prusia rege tectae naves.

XI. Hac virium accessione animus crevit praetori,
2 ut Cassandream oppugnaret. Condita est a Cas-

[1] persecuti quingentos *edd.*: persecutia *V.*
[2] est; adiuvere *Kreyssig*: estatinae *V.*

[1] Established about 300 B.C. on the site of Potidaea, which had been destroyed by Philip II in 356 B.C.
[2] The port of Pergamum, east by south of Lesbos.





B.C. 169

from the engines of all types which were distributed about, stones shot by machine struck down not only the skirmishers about the walls who rashly approached, but even the men in the ships. Recalling the soldiers to the ships and abandoning the siege of Thessalonica, they made thence for Aenea. This city is fifteen miles away, set opposite Pydna in fertile land. After devastating its territory they followed the shore and arrived at Antigonea. There they disembarked and for a time both ravaged the fields round about and carried some booty off to their ships. Then the Macedonians, cavalry and infantry together, attacked the scattered raiders and pursuing as they fled in disorder, killed about five hundred and captured as many. Nothing but utter necessity, when they were kept from finding safety in their ships, aroused the spirits of the Roman soldiers, both by despair of other means of safety and by indignation. The fight was renewed on the shore; those aboard the ships came to the rescue. Here about two hundred of the Macedonians were slain and an equal number captured. From Antigonea the fleet sailed to the peninsula of Pallene and landed troops to ravage it. This land belonged to the territory of Cassandrea [1] and was by far the most fertile of all the coast they had passed. Here they were met by King Eumenes, who had set out from Elaea [2] with twenty decked [3] ships, as well as by five decked ships sent by King Prusias.[4]

XI. With this accession of strength, the praetor's spirits rose to the point of attacking Cassandrea.

[3] According to Nissen, the use of this word indicates that Livy is following Polybius here.
[4] He was hedging on his neutrality of 171 B.C., cf. XLII. xxix. 3.

A.U.C. 585 sandro rege in ipsis faucibus, quae Pallenensem agrum ceterae Macedoniae iungunt, hinc Toronaico, hinc
3 Macedonico saepta mari. Eminet [1] namque in altum lingua in qua sita est, nec minus quam inclitus [2] magnitudine Atho mons excurrit, obversa in regionem Magnesiae duobus imparibus promunturiis, quorum maiori Posideum est nomen, minori Canastraeum.
4 Divisis partibus oppugnare adorti. Romanus ad Clitas, quas vocant, munimenta, cervis etiam obiectis, ut viam intercluderet, a Macedonico ad Toronaicum mare perducit. Ab altera parte euripus est; inde
5 Eumenes oppugnabat. Romanis in fossa complenda quam nuper obiecerat Perseus, plurimum erat laboris. Ibi quaerenti praetori, quia nusquam cumuli apparebant quo regesta e fossa terra foret, monstrati sunt fornices: non ad eandem crassitudinem, qua veterem murum, sed simplici laterum
6 ordine structos esse. Consilium igitur cepit transfosso pariete iter in urbem patefacere. Fallere autem ita se posse, si muros a parte alia scalis adortus tumultu iniecto in custodiam eius loci propugnatores urbis avertisset.

[1] saepta mari eminet *Fr*: saeptā meminent *V*.
[2] inclitus *Kreyssig*: elatus *Hartel*: insignis *Novák*: inaltus *V*, *cf.* in altum *supra*.

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[1] Livy's description is confusing; Posideum, the westward promontory, is no more than a spur on the side of the main peninsula, of which Canastraeum forms the tip, extending to the south-east; the slimness of this tip induced Livy or his source to call it the smaller.
[2] Perhaps a moat open at one end to the sea.





This was founded by King Cassander precisely in the B.C. 169
narrows which connect the peninsula of Pallene with the rest of Macedonia and are bounded on the one side by the Gulf of Macedonia, and on the other by that of Torone. For the peninsula on which this city is situated rises high and projects into the sea quite as far as Mount Athos, which is noted for its size; it forms, opposite to the district of Magnesia, two unequal promontories, the larger named Posideum and the smaller Canastraeum.[1]

The siege was begun in separate divisions. The Roman commander constructed works, including *chevaux-de-frise*, extending from the Macedonian to the Toronaic gulf, in the quarter called Clitae, in order to cut off the highway. On the other side is a narrow strait [2]; there Eumenes was attacking. The Romans found that their greatest task was filling the moat which Perseus had lately built as a defence. When the praetor inquired why there were no mounds to be seen, where the earth dug from the moat would be, he was shown certain arches.[3] These, he heard, were built up not to the same strength as the old wall, but only to the thickness of a single brick. He therefore adopted the plan of opening a path into the city by piercing the brickwork. He further expected to effect surprise in this move if he attacked the walls elsewhere with scaling ladders and, by raising confusion, drew off the defenders of the city to the protection of this second spot.

[3] These arches were probably intended as sally-ports, cf. XXXVI. xxiii. 3; it is not so clear what they had to do with the absence of soil from the moat—whether the bricks had been made from the soil, or whether the latter had been taken within the walls through the arches for disposal, before the brick curtains were built.

A.U.C. 585

7 Erant in praesidio Cassandreae[1] praeter non contemnendam iuventutem oppidanorum octingenti Agrianes et duo milia Penestarum Illyriorum a Pleurato inde missi, bellicosum utrumque genus.
8 His tuentibus muros, cum subire Romani summa vi niterentur, momento temporis parietes fornicum perfossi urbem patefecerunt. Quod si qui inrum-
9 perent armati[2] fuissent, extemplo cepissent. Hoc ubi perfectum esse opus militibus nuntiatum est, clamorem alacres gaudio repente tollunt, alii parte alia in urbem inrupturi.[3]

XII. Hostis primum admiratio cepit quidnam sibi
2 repentinus clamor vellet. Postquam patere urbem accepere praefecti praesidii Pytho et Philippus, pro eo qui occupasset adgredi opus factum esse rati, cum valida manu Agrianum Illyriorumque erumpunt
3 Romanosque, qui alii aliunde coibant convocabanturque, ut signa in urbem inferrent, incompositos atque inordinatos fugant persequuunturque ad fossam, in quam compulsos ruina cumulant. Sescenti ferme ibi interfecti, omnesque prope qui inter murum fossam-
4 que deprensi erant volnerantur. Ita suo ipse conatu perculsus praetor segnior ad alia factus consilia erat. Et ne Eumeni quidem simul a mari simul a terra

[1] Cassandreae *Fr*: cas (*ad finem lineae*) *V*.
[2] qui inrumperent armati *I. Perizonius*: qui inrupere inarmati *V*.
[3] alii parte alia in urbem inrupturi *J. F. Gronovius*: aliis parte alia in urbem inrupturum *V*.

[1] Cf. XLII. li. 5 and the note.





In the garrison of Cassandrea there were, besides B.C. 169
a respectable contingent of young citizens, eight hundred Agrianes[1] and two thousand Illyrian Penestae[2] sent from their home by Pleuratus—both peoples being good fighters. They were defending the walls as the Romans struggled with the utmost energy to mount them, when the piercing of the brickwork of the arches in the twinkling of an eye, laid open the city. If men had been there to dash in armed, they would have taken the town at once. When the accomplishment of this breakthrough was reported to the Roman soldiers, they at once eagerly raised a shout of joy, expecting to burst into the city at several points.

XII. The enemy were first struck with wonder as to the meaning of this sudden uproar. After the commanders of the garrison, Pytho and Philip, had been informed that the city lay open, they considered that the work had been done for the benefit of the side first to press the attack, and made a sally with a strong force of Agrianes and Illyrians. The Romans, who were coming up and being summoned from various points to advance into the city, were routed in their scattered and unorganized state and chased to the moat, into which they were driven and which they filled with the fallen. About six hundred were killed there and almost to a man those caught between the wall and the moat were wounded. The praetor, being so grievously dashed by his own undertaking, had become less eager to form other plans. Not even Eumenes, who was attacking both by sea

[2] These Illyrians were mentioned in XLIII. xxiii. 7; Pleuratus, who sent them, is possibly the exile mentioned in XLIII. xix. 13 as serving with Perseus.

A.U.C. 585

5 adgredienti quidquam satis procedebat. Placuit igitur utrique custodiis firmatis ne quod praesidium ex Macedonia intromitti posset, quoniam vis aperta
6 non processisset, operibus moenia oppugnare. Haec parantibus iis decem[1] regii lembi ab Thessalonica cum delectis Gallorum auxiliaribus missi, cum in salo stantes hostium[2] naves conspexissent, ipsi obscura nocte, simplici ordine, quam poterant proxime litus
7 tenentes, intrarunt urbem. Huius novi praesidii fama absistere oppugnatione simul Romanos regemque coegit. Circumvecti promunturium ad Toronen
8 classem appulerunt. Eam quoque oppugnare adorti, ubi valida defendi manu animadverterunt, inrito incepto Demetriadem petunt. Ibi cum adpropinquantes repleta moenia armatis vidissent, praetervecti ad Iolcon classem appulerunt, inde agro vastato Demetriadem quoque adgressuri.

XIII. Inter haec et consul, ne segnis sederet tantum in agro hostium, M. Popilium cum quinque milibus militum ad Meliboeam urbem oppugnandam
2 mittit. Sita est in radicibus Ossae montis, qua parte in Thessaliam vergit, opportune imminens super
3 Demetriadem. Primus adventus hostium perculit incolas loci; collectis deinde ab[3] necopinato pavore animis discurrunt armati ad portas ac moenia, qua suspecti aditus erant, spemque extemplo inciderunt
4 capi primo impetu posse. Obsidio igitur parabatur, et opera ad[4] oppugnationem fieri coepta.

[1] iis decem *Wesenberg*: his x *V*.
[2] hostium *Fügner*: hos *V*.
[3] ab *add. Novák*: *om. V*. [4] ad *add. Vahlen*: *om. V*.

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[1] The threat to Demetrias must have consisted in cutting its line of communications, since Meliboea is twenty-five miles away, air-line.





and land, gained any worth-while advantage. Both B.C. 169
commanders therefore determined to strengthen the forces on guard, so that no reinforcement from Macedonia might be sent in, and since open assault was unsuccessful, to attack the fortifications with siege-works. During the preparation of these works, ten Macedonian scout-ships, sent from Thessalonica with picked Gallic auxiliaries, saw that the besieging ships were anchored out to sea, and in the dead of night, in single column, hugging the shore as closely as possible, entered the city. Report of this new defence force compelled both the Romans and the king to abandon the siege. They sailed around the cape and put in near Torone. After attempting to besiege this city too, and observing that it was defended by a strong force, they gave up their undertaking, and made for Demetrias. On approaching it they saw the walls filled with armed men, and sailed past to make a landing at Iolcus, planning to ravage the fields and then attack Demetrias too.

XIII. Meanwhile the consul, for his part, in order not merely to remain sluggishly idle in hostile territory, sent Marcus Popilius with five thousand soldiers to assail the city of Meliboea. This is situated in the foothills of Mount Ossa, on the side sloping toward Thessaly, and conveniently threatening Demetrias.[1] The first arrival of the enemy dismayed the inhabitants of the place; then, after rallying their spirits from the unexpected fright, they ran under arms to their posts at gates and wall, where the expected lines of attack were, and at once dispelled the hope that the town could be taken at the first rush. Preparations for a siege were therefore made and the construction of works for the assault was begun.

A.U.C. 585

Perseus cum audisset simul Meliboeam a consulis
exercitu oppugnari, simul classem Iolci[1] stare, ut[2]
inde Demetriadem adgrederetur, Euphranorem quen-
dam ex ducibus cum delectis duobus milibus Meli-
5 boeam mittit. Eidem imperatum, ut si a Meliboea
summovisset Romanos, Demetriadem prius occulto
itinere intraret, quam ab Iolco ad urbem castra
6 moverent Romani. Et ab oppugnatoribus Meliboeae,
cum in superioribus locis repente apparuisset, cum
trepidatione multa relicta opera sunt ignisque[3]
7 iniectus. Ita a Meliboea abscessum est. Euphranor
soluta unius urbis obsidione Demetriadem extemplo
ducit. Nocte moenia intrat tantamque fiduciam
incolentibus fecit ut non moenia[4] modo, sed agros
etiam confiderent se a populationibus tueri posse;
et eruptiones[5] in vagos populatores non sine volneri-
8 bus hostium factae sunt. Circumvecti tamen moenia
sunt praetor et rex, situm urbis contemplantes, si qua
9 parte temptare aut opere aut vi possent. Fama fuit
per Cydantem Cretensem et Antimachum, qui Deme-
triadi praeerat, tractatas inter Eumenen et Persea
condiciones amicitiae. Ab Demetriade certe absces-
10 sum est. Eumenes ad consulem navigat; gratu-
latusque,[6] quod prospere Macedoniam intrasset,
11 Pergamum in regnum abit. Marcius Figulus praetor
parte classis in hiberna Sciathum missa cum reliquis
navibus Oreum Euboeae[7] petit, eam urbem aptissi-

[1] Iolci *Fr*: loci *V*.
[2] ut *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[3] ignisque *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[4] intrat tantamque fiduciam incolentibus fecit ut non moenia *add. Forchhammer*: nocte muenia modo *V*.
[5] eruptiones *Fr*: eruditionibus *V*.
[6] gratulatusque *Drakenborch*: gratulatus *V*.
[7] Oreum Euboeae *J. F. Gronovius*: oreumboetiae *V*.





B.C. 169

When Perseus heard that Meliboea was being attacked by the consul's army at the same time that the fleet was anchored at Iolcus, in order to attack Demetrias from there, he sent a certain Euphranor, one of his officers, with two thousand picked soldiers to Meliboea. Euphranor's orders were that if he dislodged the Romans from Meliboea, he was to enter Demetrias unobserved before the Romans brought their camp up to the city from Iolcus. The besiegers of Meliboea, in great panic when Euphranor suddenly made his appearance on higher ground, abandoned their works and set them afire. So the siege of Meliboea was given up. After freeing one city from siege, Euphranor at once advanced to Demetrias. He entered the walls by night and gave the inhabitants such confidence that they felt sure of their ability not only to defend their walls, but to protect their land from raids. Sallies were made against the scattered ravagers, not without casualties to the enemy. However, the praetor and the king rode around the walls, reconnoitring the situation of the city, in case they could attempt an assault by works or by main force at any point. There was a rumour that Cydas the Cretan[1] and Antimachus, the commander in Demetrias, were agents in discussing terms of friendship between Eumenes and Perseus. At any rate, the Romans departed from Demetrias. Eumenes sailed to the consul, and after offering congratulations on his successful entrance into Macedonia, left for Pergamum in his own kingdom. The praetor Marcius Figulus sent part of his fleet into winter quarters at Sciathus, and made for Oreüs in

[1] A substantial account of this and other intrigues is given by Polybius XXIX. 6 (1c).

A.U.C. 585

mam ratus unde exercitibus qui in Macedonia quique in Thessalia erant, mitti commeatus possent.

12 De Eumene rege longe diversa tradunt. Si Valerio Antiati credas, nec classe adiutum ab eo praetorem esse, cum saepe eum litteris accersisset, tradit, nec cum gratia ab consule profectum in Asiam, indignatum quod, ut iisdem castris tenderet per-
13 missum non fuerit; ne ut equites quidem Gallos quos secum adduxerat relinqueret, impetrari ab eo potu-
14 isse. Attalum fratrem eius et remansisse apud consulem, et sinceram eius fidem aequali tenore egregiamque operam in eo bello fuisse.

XIV. Dum bellum in Macedonia geritur, legati transalpini ab regulo Gallorum—Balanos ipsius traditur nomen; gentis ex qua fuerit, non traditur—Romam venerunt pollicentes ad Macedonicum bellum
2 auxilia. Gratiae ab senatu actae muneraque missa, torquis aureus duo pondo et paterae aureae quattuor
3 pondo, equus[1] phaleratus armaque equestria. Secundum Gallos Pamphylii legati coronam auream ex viginti milibus Philippeorum factam in curiam intu-

[1] equus *Fr*: cui *V*.

[1] As Livy knew, trusting Valerius Antias was a hazardous proceeding. Polybius XXIX. 5 (1b) is less certain about Eumenes' attitude; Valerius perhaps reported the view prevailing in Rome at the time.

[2] They had apparently been recognized as free "friends" of Rome after a dispute as to their status under the treaty with Antiochus, XXXVIII. xxxix. 17, and xv. 6.

[3] These coins were worth about twenty silver drachmas, cf. XXXVII. lix. 4 and the note. The gift seems to have been unusually large; the Rhodians gave the same when desperately trying to regain Roman favour, see XLV. xxv. 7; the figure here may be wrong. The philip, by weight a stater or double drachma of the Athenian standard (= 8·6 g.; the theoretical U.S. gold dollar of 1934 = $15\frac{5}{21}$ grains troy = 0·988 g.),





Euboea with the rest of his ships, thinking that this city was most suitable for the forwarding of supplies to the armies in Macedonia and Thessaly. B.C. 169

The historians give highly different accounts of King Eumenes. If you trust Valerius Antias,[1] his account is that although the praetor summoned the king with frequent despatches, he did not even receive naval assistance from him, nor did Eumenes on his way to Asia part on good terms with the consul, being indignant because he was not permitted to encamp in the Roman area; Eumenes, says Valerius, could not even be persuaded to leave behind the Galatian cavalry he had brought with him. His brother Attalus, continues Valerius, not only remained with the consul, but displayed genuine and unwavering good faith and notable exploits in this campaign.

XIV. While the war was continuing in Macedonia, envoys from across the Alps from a Gallic chieftain—his name is given as Balanos, but there is no record of his tribe—came to Rome promising aid for the Macedonian campaign. Thanks were expressed by the senate and gifts sent the envoys, a twisted necklace of two pounds of gold and golden bowls of four pounds, a horse with ornamental trappings, and cavalry weapons. After the Gauls, Pamphylian[2] envoys presented in the senate-house a gold crown made of twenty thousand philips[3] and their request was

was popularized by Philip II after the fall of Olynthus in 348 B.C. He seems to have taken the coin from the Olynthians; it paralleled an earlier issue from Philippi, which began as a colony of Thasos three years before its capture by Philip, and which had an Athenian adviser. Philip continued the coinage of this town. During the second century, the philip was the commonest gold coin of Rome (see XXXIV. lii. 7; XXXVII. lix. 4; XXXIX. v. 15 and vii. 1, and frequent

A.U.C. 585 lerunt, petentibusque iis, ut id donum in cella Iovis
optimi maximi ponere et sacrificare in Capitolio
4 liceret, permissum; benigneque amicitiam renovare
volentibus [1] legatis responsum et binum milium aeris
singulis missum munus.

5 Tum ab rege Prusia et paulo post ab Rhodiis de
eadem re [2] longe aliter disserentes legati auditi sunt.
6 Utraque legatio de pace reconcilianda cum rege
Perseo egit. Prusiae preces magis quam postulatio
fuere, profitentis et ad id tempus se cum Romanis
7 stetisse et, quoad bellum foret, staturum; ceterum
cum ad se a Perseo legati venissent de finiendo cum
Romanis bello, eis [3] pollicitum deprecatorem apud
senatum futurum; petere, si possent inducere in
animum ut finiant iras, se [4] quoque in gratia recon-
8 ciliatae pacis ponerent.[5] Haec regii legati. Rhodii
superbe commemoratis meritis suis [6] erga populum
Romanum et paene victoriae, utique de Antiocho
9 rege, maiore parte ad se vindicata, adiecerunt: cum
pax inter Macedonas Romanosque esset, sibi amici-
tiam cum rege Perseo coeptam; eam se invitos, nullo
eius in se merito, quoniam ita Romanis visum sit in
10 societatem se belli trahere, interrupisse. Tertium

[1] volentibus *Fr*: novantibus *V*.
[2] re *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[3] eis *Novák*: etis *V*.
[4] iras se *Forchhammer*: ira se *V*.
[5] ponerent *J. F. Gronovius*: possent *V*.
[6] meritis suis *add. Madvig*: *om. V*.

allusions of Plautus' *Bacchides, Poenulus,* and *Trinummus*); as a result of Roman trade, philips also made their appearance in central Gaul, and were locally imitated there, in the Rhine-





granted that they be permitted to deposit this present in the temple of Jupiter, Greatest and Best, and to offer sacrifice on the Capitol; a gracious answer was given to the envoys' request for a renewal of the state of friendship, and a gift of two thousand *asses* apiece was sent them. B.C. 169

Next, an audience was given to envoys from King Prusias, and shortly thereafter to those from the Rhodians, who made a very different presentation of the same request. Both embassies treated of making terms again with King Perseus. Prusias' attitude was more that of entreaty than demand, for he declared that up to this time he had taken the part of the Romans, and would so continue as long as the war lasted; however, inasmuch as envoys from Perseus had come to him to discuss ending the war with the Romans, he had promised to plead Perseus' cause before the senate; he requested that if they could bring themselves to do so, they would put an end to their wrath, and would accord him, too, their thanks for the restoration of peace. So spoke the king's envoys. The Rhodians haughtily reviewed their services to the Roman people, and claimed for themselves almost the greater part of the victories, especially over King Antiochus; they then added that while peace had existed between the Macedonians and Romans, they had entered upon friendship with King Perseus; this they had broken off against their will and on account of no fault of his toward them, but because it had seemed good to the Romans to draw them into participation in the war.

land, and even in Britain. (See Seltman, *Greek Coins*, pp. 200–202, and *R.E.* 2196–2198.)

A.U.C. 585

se annum multa eius incommoda belli sentire mari intercluso; inopem insulam esse nec, nisi maritimis
11 iuvetur commeatibus, colendam. Itaque cum[1] id ultra pati non possent, legatos alios ad Persea in Macedoniam misisse qui ei denuntiarent Rhodiis placere pacem eum componere cum Romanis; se
12 Romam eadem nuntiatum missos. Per quos stetisset quo minus belli finis fieret, adversus eos quid sibi faciendum esset, Rhodios consideraturos esse.

13 Ne[2] nunc quidem haec sine indignatione legi audirive posse certum habeo; inde existimari potest, qui habitus animorum audientibus ea patribus fuerit.

XV. Claudius nihil responsum auctor est, tantum senatus consultum recitatum, quo Caras et Lycios liberos esse iuberet populus Romanus litterasque

[1] mari intercluso; inopem insulam esse, nec nisi maritimis iuvetur commeatibus colendam. Itaque cum *Novák*: mari intercluso; incultam insulam inopem esse, nisi maritimis iuvetur contributisque commeatibus. Cum *Gitlbauer*: mari interim incluso inopiam insulam inopen misso . . . ritimis iuuetur colendi itaque commeatibus cum *V*.

[2] ne *add. Fr*: *om. V*.

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[1] For the services of the Rhodians, cf. XLII. xlvi. 6. According to Polybius XXVIII. 16, relations between Rome and Rhodes were entirely cordial this year; in 168 B.C. the consul Marcius suggested to an embassy of the Rhodians that they act as mediators; the only result was to encourage the pro-Macedonians in Rhodes (cf. below, xxxv. 4, where Livy still saddles the Rhodians with the onus in this matter; also XLV. iii. 3, with which cf. Polybius XXIX. 10). Polybius suspects Marcius of planning to have the Rhodians annoy the Romans and so justify Rome's overriding their independence; in view of Marcius' liking for intrigue (XLII. xlvii. 1–4), this





For the third year, they said, they were feeling many B.C. 169 inconveniences from this war because of the interruption of commerce; their island was poor, and could not be inhabited without the assistance of sea-borne supplies. Since therefore they could no longer endure this privation, they had sent other envoys to Perseus in Macedonia, to inform him that it was the Rhodians' wish that he should arrange a peace with the Romans, and that they had sent a similar announcement to Rome. If either party was responsible for preventing the ending of the war, the Rhodians would deliberate as to what action they ought to take against this party.

I feel sure that even now these statements cannot be read or heard without indignation; from this one can judge what the senate's state of mind was as they listened.[1]

XV. Claudius has it that the senate returned no answer, but only had read its decree that the Roman people gave the Carians and Lycians their freedom[2] and that despatches should be immediately sent to both peoples, on hearing which the chief of the

is quite probable. In XLV. xxii. 2, Livy suggests that Roman suspicion of Rhodes was something new in 167 B.C.; in XLV. xxv. 6, the "freeing" of Lycia and Caria seems to have been ordered in that year. Claudius (see below) or some other annalist seems to have misled Livy by anticipating developments. Cassius Dio XX. fr. 66, 2 = Zonaras 9. 22 says that Perseus would have been granted peace but for the tactlessness of the Rhodians. Livy certainly had no suspicion that the Romans might have continued to tolerate Perseus.

[2] Previous friction between these peoples and the Rhodians was noted in XLI. vi. 8–12, cf. the note, and XLII. xiv. 8. Polybius XXX. 5. 12 records a decree "freeing" the Carians and Lycians in the year 168–7 B.C., probably the time when it was actually passed.

A.U.C. 585

2 extemplo ad utramque gentem mitti;[1] qua audita re principem legationis, cuius magniloquentiam vix curia paulo ante ceperat, corruisse.

3 Alii responsum esse tradunt, populum Romanum et principio eius belli haud vanis auctoribus compertum habuisse Rhodios cum Perseo rege adversus rem publicam suam occulta consilia inisse, et si id[2] ante
4 dubium fuisset, legatorum paulo[3] ante verba ad certum redegisse, et plerumque ipsam se fraudem,
5 etiamsi initio cautior fuerit, detegere. Rhodios nunc[4] in orbe terrarum arbitria belli pacisque agere; Rhodiorum[5] nutu arma sumpturos positurosque Romanos esse. Iam non deos foederum testis, sed
6 Rhodios habituros. Itane tandem? ni[6] pareatur iis exercitusque de Macedonia deportentur, visuros esse
7 quid sibi faciendum sit? quid Rhodii visuri sint, ipsos scire. Populum certe Romanum devicto Perseo, quod prope diem sperent fore, visurum ut pro meritis cuiusque in eo bello civitatis gratiam dignam referat.
8 Munus tamen legatis in singulos binum milium aeris missum est, quod ii non acceperunt.

XVI. Litterae deinde recitatae Q. Marcii consulis sunt, quemadmodum saltu superato in Macedoniam
2 transisset: ibi et ex aliis locis commeatus se[7] pros-

[1] gentem mitti *Hartel*: gentem ut sciret iudicatum mitti *Madvig*: gentem ut id sciret indicatum mitti *Weissenborn*: gentem sciret indicatum mitti *V*.
[2] inisse et si id *Fr*: inissetid *V*.
[3] legatorum paulo *Fr*: legatorum occulta consilia inisset paulo *V*.
[4] nunc *I. Perizonius*: nuntio *V*.
[5] Rhodiorum *Crévier*: deorum *V*.
[6] ni *Kreyssig*: is *V*.
[7] se *Vahlen*: remp. *V*.





Rhodian embassy, for whose proud language the senate-house had but a moment before seemed too small, now suffered deflation. Other historians record the following answer: B.C. 169

"At the outset of this war the Roman people were informed by no trifling sources that the Rhodians had entered upon secret plots with King Perseus against the Roman state,[1] but even had this been doubtful before, the words of the embassy just uttered have made the matter certain. Frequently treachery unmasks itself, even if it is more wary at first. And now the Rhodians pass judgment throughout the world as to peace and war! At the beck and call of the Rhodians will the Romans take up and lay down their arms! Now we are no longer to call upon the gods to witness treaties, but rather the Rhodians! Unless obedience is rendered them, and our armies are removed from Macedonia, the Rhodians will see, will they, what they must do? What the Rhodians will see, they themselves know. But surely the Roman people, after their conquest of Perseus, which they hope will take place any day, will see that they repay a suitable reward for the actions of each state during the war." Nevertheless, a present of two thousand sesterces apiece was sent to the envoys, which they refused.

XVI. Thereafter despatches from Quintus Marcius the consul were read, describing his crossing over into Macedonia, by forcing the pass; in Macedonia he had procured supplies in advance of winter from

[1] Cf. XLII. xxvi. 8 for earlier Roman suspicions, which to a large extent resulted from the Rhodians' non-partisanship, based on a preference for a balance of power, cf. XLII. xxx.

A.U.C. 585

pectos in hiemem habere et ab Epirotis viginti milia modium tritici, decem hordei sumpsisse, ut pro eo frumento pecunia Romae legatis eorum curaretur.
3 Vestimenta militibus ab Roma mittenda esse; equis ducentis ferme opus esse, maxime Numidicis, nec
4 sibi [1] in his locis ullam copiam esse. Senatus consultum, ut ea omnia ex litteris consulis fierent, factum est. C. Sulpicius praetor sex milia togarum, triginta tunicarum, equos ducentos [2] deportanda in Macedoniam praebendaque arbitratu consulis locavit et legatis Epirotarum pecuniam pro frumento solvit et Onesimum, Pythonis filium, nobilem Macedonem,
5 in senatum introduxit. Is pacis semper auctor regi fuerat monueratque, sicut pater eius Philippus institutum usque ad ultimum vitae diem servarat [3] cotidie, bis in die foederis icti cum Romanis perlegendi, ut eum morem, si non semper, crebro tamen usurparet.
6 Postquam deterrere eum a bello nequiit, primo subtrahere sese per alias atque alias causas,[4] ne interesset iis quae non probabat, coepit; postremo, cum suspectum se esse cerneret et proditionis interdum crimine insimulari, ad Romanos transfugit et [5] magno
7 usui consuli fuit. Ea introductus in curiam cum memorasset, senatus in formulam sociorum eum

[1] Numidicis nec sibi *Novák*: numidinecsi *V*.
[2] ducentos *Forchhammer*: et *V*.
[3] servarat *Drakenborch*: servabat *V*.
[4] causas *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[5] et *add. Drakenborch*: *om. V*.

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[1] He was the city praetor, cf. XLIII. xv. 3. Under Sulpicius' sponsorship as praetor, Ennius produced his *Thyestes* (Cicero, *Brutus* 78), and in his consulship, Terence produced his *Andria*; for Sulpicius' prediction of an eclipse, see below, xxxvii. 5.





various localities, and in particular had received twenty thousand bushels of wheat and ten thousand of barley from the Epirotes, so that payment for this grain should be arranged with their envoys at Rome. Clothes, said the consul, should be sent to the army from Rome; there was need for about two hundred horses, especially Numidians, and he had no supply of them where he was. A decree of the senate was passed to carry out these requests of the consul. Gaius Sulpicius the praetor [1] let a contract for transporting to Macedonia six thousand togas,[2] thirty thousand tunics, and two hundred horses, and for depositing them where the consul chose. Sulpicius also paid the envoys of the Epirotes the price of the grain, and brought before the senate Onesimus, son of Pytho, a Macedonian noble. He had always been a proponent of peace to the king, and had advised him to adopt frequently, if not regularly, the practice which his father Philip had begun and continued to the last day of his life—namely, that of reading through twice daily the treaty he had made with the Romans. After Onesimus had been unable to discourage the king from war, Onesimus began at first to withdraw on one excuse or another, so as not to be associated with projects of which he disapproved. Finally, when he saw that he was an object of suspicion and that occasionally he was being charged by innuendo with treachery, he deserted to the Romans and made himself very useful to the consul. On being introduced to the senate, he recited these facts, and the senate ordered that he be enrolled in the category of allies, that a residence and entertainment B.C. 169

[2] For this use of a civilian garment by soldiers, cf. XXII. liv. 2 and the note.

A.U.C. 585 referri iussit, locum, lautia praeberi, agri Tarentini[1] qui publicus populi Romani esset ducenta iugera dari, et aedes Tarenti emi. Uti ea curaret, C. Decimio praetori mandatum.

8 Censores censum[2] idibus Decembribus severius quam ante habuerunt: multis equi adempti, inter quos P. Rutilio, qui tribunus plebis eos violenter accusarat; tribu quoque is motus et aerarius[3]
9 factus. Ad opera publica facienda cum eis dimidium ex vectigalibus eius anni attributum ex senatus con-
10 sulto a quaestoribus esset, Ti. Sempronius ex ea pecunia, quae ipsi attributa erat, aedes P. Africani pone Veteres ad Vortumni signum lanienasque[4] et
11 tabernas coniunctas in publicum emit basilicamque faciendam curavit, quae postea Sempronia appellata est.

XVII. Iam in exitu annus erat et propter Macedonici maxime belli curam in sermonibus homines habebant quos in annum consules ad finiendum tan-
2 dem id bellum crearent. Itaque senatus consultum factum est, ut Cn. Servilius primo quoque tempore ad

[1] Tarentini *Fr*: intrarentin *V*.
[2] mandatum. Censores censum *Fr*: mandatū recensum *V*.
[3] aerarius *Ursinus*: operarius *V*.
[4] lanienas *Turnebus*: laneas *V*.

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[1] For similar rewards, cf. II. xvi. 4–5; XXIII. xlvi. 6–7; XXVI. xxi. 9–13.
[2] He was praetor in charge of aliens, XLIII. xv. 3.
[3] Severity to knights was previously mentioned, XLIII. xvi. 1; either the process was interrupted by the objections there described, or the censors conducted a new review at this later date. Rutilius was now open to their attack, because he had left the tribunate four days before on December 9.
[4] Africanus was the father-in-law of the censor. The Old Shops had been built in 209 B.C., cf. XXVII. xi. 16, and were





be provided for him, that two hundred acres of the public land of the Roman people in the district of Tarentum be given him, and that a house be bought for him at Tarentum.[1] Gaius Decimius the praetor[2] was entrusted with the execution of these orders. B.C. 169

The censors conducted the census on the thirteenth of December more strictly than before. Many were deprived of their rank of knights, among them Publius Rutilius who as tribune of the commons had violently assailed the censors; he was also removed from his tribe and disenfranchised.[3] As half the revenues of the year had by decree of the senate been assigned by the quaestors to the censors for the construction of public works, Titus Sempronius, out of the funds assigned to him, bought for the state the house of Publius Africanus behind the Old Shops in the direction of the statue of Vortumnus, as well as the butcher's stalls and the shops adjacent, and saw to the construction of the basilica which afterward received the name of Sempronian.[4]

XVII. The year was drawing to its close, and because of concern, especially for the war with Macedonia, men were discussing what consuls they should elect for this year, to bring this war at last to an end. A resolution of the senate was therefore passed, that Gnaeus Servilius should come as promptly

so called to distinguish them from some built in 194 B.C. The bronze statue of the Etruscan god Vortumnus stood in the *Vicus Tuscus* some distance south-west of the Forum, but visible from it; the statue is mentioned by Cicero, *in Verrem* II. I. 59, 154, and Propertius V. (IV.) 2. The god, whose name seems to be good Latin, was in charge of turning or exchange, and received a temple in Rome after the overthrow of his home town of Volsinii in 264 B.C. The Basilica Sempronia was later supplanted by the Basilica Julia.

A.U.C. 585

3 comitia habenda veniret. Senatus consultum Sulpicius praetor ad consulem misit, litterasque allatas a consule post paucos dies recitavit, quibus in ante diem . . . comitia edixit: se ante eum diem [1] in urbem venturum. Et consul maturavit et comitia eo
4 die qui dictus erat sunt perfecta. Consules creati L. Aemilius Paulus iterum, quarto [2] decumo anno postquam primo consul fuerat, et C. Licinius Crassus.
5 Praetores postero die facti Cn. Baebius Tamphilus,[3] L. Anicius Gallus, Cn. Octavius, P. Fonteius Balbus,
6 M. Aebutius Helva, C. Papirius Carbo. Omnia ut maturius agerentur, belli Macedonici stimulabat
7 cura. Itaque designatos extemplo sortiri placuit provincias, ut, cum [4] utri Macedonia consuli cuique praetori classis evenisset sciretur, ii iam inde [5] cogitarent pararentque quae bello usui forent, senatumque consulerent, si qua de [6] re consulto opus
8 esset. Latinas, ubi magistratum inissent, quod per religiones posset primo quoque tempore fieri placere, ne quid [7] consulem, cui eundum in Macedoniam esset,
9 teneret. His decretis, consulibus Italia et Macedonia, praetoribus praeter duas iurisdictiones in urbe classis et Hispania et Sicilia et Sardinia provinciae

[1] misit, litterasque allatas a consule . . . in . . . comitia edixit; se ante eum diem *add. Vahlen*: *om. V.*
[2] quarto *Sigonius*: septumo *V.*
[3] Baebius *Fr*: Tamphilus *Sigonius*: pa pilius *V.*
[4] placuit provincias ut cum *Madvig*: placuit provideanteum *V.*
[5] ii iam inde *Madvig*: utiaminide *V.*





as possible to hold the elections. The praetor Sulpicius forwarded the resolution to the consul, and read to the senate a few days later the return despatch from that officer. In this, he set the day for the elections as . . . , and announced his return to the city previous to that time. The consul made haste, and the elections were completed on the day set. There were elected as consuls Lucius Aemilius Paulus for the second time, in the fourteenth year after his first term, and Gaius Licinius Crassus. On the following day, there were elected to the praetorship Gnaeus Baebius Tamphilus, Lucius Anicius Gallus, Gnaeus Octavius, Publius Fonteius Balbus, Marcus Aebutius Helva, and Gaius Papirius Carbo. Concern for the war with Macedonia induced the speeding up of the whole procedure. Therefore it was voted that these magistrates-elect should be allotted their fields of operation immediately, so that when it was known which consul had received Macedonia and which praetor the fleet, the designated men might begin their plans and preparations of the supplies necessary for war and might consult the senate if there was need for consultation on any subject. It was determined to hold the Latin Festival as soon as was possible on religious grounds after the entrance upon office of the magistrates, to avoid any delay to the consul who was to set out for Macedonia. In these decrees, the fields of operation for the consuls were designated as Macedonia and Italy; those for the praetors were, besides the two jurisdictions in the city, the fleet, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia. Mace- B.C. 169

[6] de *add. Weissenborn*: *om. V.*
[7] ne quid *Forchhammer*: neque *V.*

A.U.C. 585

10 nominatae sunt. Consulum Aemilio Macedonia, Licinio Italia evenit. Praetores Cn. Baebius urbanam, L. Anicius peregrinam et si quo senatus censuisset, Cn. Octavius classem, P. Fonteius Hispaniam, M. Aebutius Siciliam,[1] C. Papirius Sardiniam est sortitus.

XVIII. Extemplo apparuit omnibus non segniter id bellum L. Aemilium gesturum, praeterquam quod militaris [2] vir erat, etiam quod dies noctesque intentus ea sola quae ad id bellum pertinerent animo agitabat.
2 Iam omnium primum a senatu petit, ut legatos in Macedoniam mitterent ad exercitus visendos classemque et comperta referenda, quid aut terrestribus
3 aut navalibus copiis opus esset [3]; praeterea ut explorarent copias regias quantum possent, qua [4] provincia nostra, qua hostium foret; utrum intra saltus castra Romani haberent, an iam omnes angustiae exsuperatae, et in aequa loca pervenis-
4 sent; qui fideles nobis socii, qui dubii suspensaeque ex fortuna fidei, qui certi hostes viderentur; quanti praeparati commeatus, et unde terrestri itinere, unde navibus subportarentur; quid ea aestate terra marique rerum gestum [5] esset: ex his bene cognitis certa

[1] M. Aebutius Siciliam *add. Fr*: *om. V.*
[2] militaris *H. A. Koch*: alias *Hertz*: talis *Forchhammer*: aliis *V.*
[3] esset *Sigonius*: est *V.*
[4] qua *Vahlen*: quaqua *V.*
[5] gestum *J. F. Gronovius*: gestarum *V.*

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[1] It was later assumed, cf. *C.I.L.* I.[2] 1, p. 194, *elogium* XV. and Plutarch, *Aemilius* x that Paulus was *elected* as general for Macedonia; this cannot be taken literally, as it would have been the senate which assigned him to a province;





B.C. 169

donia fell to the lot of the consul Aemilius,[1] Italy to Licinius. Of the praetors, Gnaeus Baebius received the jurisdiction over citizens, Lucius Anicius was given that over aliens and was placed at the disposal of the senate, Gnaeus Octavius received the fleet, Publius Fonteius Spain, Marcus Aebutius Sicily, and Gaius Papirius Sardinia.

XVIII. It was at once obvious to everyone that Lucius Aemilius was going to prosecute this war in no sluggish fashion, not only because he was a warlike man, but also because without relaxing by day or night he turned over in his mind nothing but what concerned this war. First of all he requested the senate to send envoys to Macedonia to inspect the armies and the fleet and to report their findings as to what was needed by way of forces on land or sea; moreover, they were to collect information as far as possible about the king's forces and about the terrain under our control and under that of the enemy. They were to investigate the following: whether the Romans were encamped among the mountains or whether all the narrows had been passed and the plains reached; which of the allies were loyal to us, which were wavering and of a loyalty dependent on fortune, and which seemed definitely hostile; how large a supply of provisions had been prepared and whence they could be brought, by a land route or by ships, respectively; what had been achieved on land and sea during this summer. From good information on these points sure decisions might be made for the

unless a judicious falsifying of the allotment process took place, the appointment of Paulus was a bit of the *felicitas* of the Roman people. Crassus had a respectable record as a soldier, cf. XLII. lviii. 12.

A.U.C. 585 5 in futurum consilia capi posse. Senatus[1] Cn. Servilio consuli negotium dedit ut tris[2] in Macedoniam quos L. Aemilio videretur, legaret. Legati biduo post profecti Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, A. Licinius Nerva, L. Baebius.

6 Bis in exitu anni eius lapidatum esse nuntiatum est, semel[3] in Romano agro, semel in Veienti. Bis[4]
7 novemdiale sacrum factum est. Sacerdotes eo anno mortui sunt P. Quinctilius Varus flamen Martialis et M. Claudius Marcellus decemvir; in cuius locum Cn.
8 Octavius suffectus. Et iam magnificentia crescente notatum est ludis circensibus P. Corneli Scipionis Nasicae et P. Lentuli aedilium curulium[5] sexaginta tres Africanas et quadraginta ursos et elephantos lusisse.

A.U.C. 586 XIX. L. Aemilio Paulo C. Licinio consulibus, idibus Martiis, principio insequentis anni, cum in expectatione patres fuissent, maxime quidnam consul de Macedonia, cuius ea provincia esset, referret, nihil se habere Paulus quod referret, cum nondum legati[6]
2 redissent, dixit. Ceterum Brundisi legatos iam esse,
3 bis ex cursu Dyrrachium reiectos.[7] Cognitis mox quae nosci prius in rem esset, relaturum; id fore intra
4 perpaucos dies. Et ne quid profectionem suam

[1] posse. Senatus *Bekker*: posseseratus *V*.
[2] dedit ut tris *Harant*: dedit utris *V*.
[3] est, semel *Madvig*: esse *V*.
[4] semel in Veienti. Bis *Madvig*: simul in beientibus *V*.
[5] aedilium curulium *ed. Bas. 1535*: aedilis curulis *V*.
[6] cum nondum legati *Fr*: cum nondum III legati *Rossbach*: nondum inlegati *V*.





future, said Aemilius. The senate gave the consul Gnaeus Servilius the task of choosing three men satisfactory to Lucius Aemilius as envoys to Macedonia. Two days later the envoys set out—Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, Aulus Licinius Nerva, and Lucius Baebius. B.C. 169

Report was made of two showers of stones near the end of this year, one on Roman land, one on that of Veii. On both occasions a nine-day rite was performed. The priests who died during this year were Publius Quinctilius Varus, the *flamen* of Mars,[1] and Marcus Claudius Marcellus of the Board of Ten. Gnaeus Octavius replaced the latter. Display being now on the increase, it is recorded that at the games in the arena by the curule aediles Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica and Publius Lentulus, sixty-three leopards and forty bears and elephants participated.

XIX. In the consulship of Lucius Aemilius Paulus and Gaius Licinius, on the fifteenth of March, at the beginning of the new year, the senators were on the *qui vive*, especially as to what the consul in charge of Macedonia would bring before them about his field of operations. But Paulus said that he had nothing to present until the envoys returned, but that the envoys were now at Brundisium, after having been blown back twice to Dyrrachium on their voyage. As soon as he acquired the information which was the first necessity, he would lay matters before the senate, and this would take place within a very few days. In order to avoid any delay to his setting- B.C. 168

[1] He was replaced in the following year by Lucius Postumius Albinus, XLV. xv. 10.

[7] reiectos *Manutius*: eiectos *V*.

A.U.C. 586

teneret, pridie idus Apriles Latinis esse constitutam
diem. Sacrificio rite perfecto et se et[1] Cn. Octa-
5 vium, simul senatus censuisset, exituros esse. C.
Licinio collegae suo fore curae se absente, ut si qua
parari mittique[2] ad id bellum opus sit, parentur
mittanturque. Interea legationes exterarum na-
tionum audiri posse.
6 Primi[3] Alexandrini legati ab Ptolemaeo et Cleo-
7 patra[4] regibus vocati sunt. Sordidati, barba et
capillo promisso, cum ramis oleae ingressi curiam
procubuerunt, et oratio quam habitus fuit miserabilior.
8 Antiochus Syriae rex, qui obses Romae fuerat, per
honestam speciem maioris Ptolemaei reducendi in
regnum, bellum cum minore fratre eius, qui tum
9 Alexandriam tenebat, gerens et ad Pelusium navali
proelio superior[5] fuerat et tumultuario opere ponte
per Nilum facto transgressus cum exercitu obsidione
ipsam Alexandriam terrebat, nec procul abesse quin
10 potiretur regno opulentissimo videbatur. Ea legati
querentes orabant senatum ut opem regno regibusque
11 amicis imperio Romano[6] ferrent. Ea merita populi
Romani in Antiochum, eam apud omnes reges
gentesque auctoritatem esse ut, si legatos misissent

[1] et se et *Harant*: esset *V*.
[2] mittique *H. J. Müller*: mittiue *V*.
[3] posse. Primi *Crévier*: possesacrificioriteperfectoprimi *V*, *cf.* § 4 *supra*.
[4] Ptolemaeo et Cleopatra *Fr*: ptolemeopatra *V*.
[5] superior *add. Weissenborn*: *om. V*.
[6] Romano *add. Zingerle*: *om. V*.

[1] The date is given below, xxii. 16, as March 31; in either case, it was very early as compared with dates cited elsewhere, *e.g.*, XLI. xvi. 1 (May 5), XLII. xxxv. 3 (June 1). Actually, due to the confusion of the calendar, the festival was held in late January this year, cf. below, xxxvii. 8.





B.C. 168

out, said Paulus, the day for the Latin Festival had been set at April twelfth[1]; after the proper performance of the sacrifice, if the senate concurred, he and Gnaeus Octavius would both set out. His colleague Gaius Licinius would take care, in his absence, to get ready and send out what should be made ready and sent to the war; meanwhile, said Paulus, the embassies of foreign nations might be given audience.

First the envoys from King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra at Alexandria were announced. Grimy,[2] with untrimmed beard and hair, they entered the senate-house bearing olive-branches, and prostrated themselves; their speech was more pitiable than their array. Antiochus, the king of Syria, who had been a hostage at Rome, under the decent pretext of restoring the elder Ptolemy to his throne, was waging war against the younger brother, who was then in possession of Alexandria.[3] Antiochus had won a naval battle at Pelusium and, after leading his forces across the Nile on a hastily-constructed bridge, was overawing Alexandria with his siege and seemed to be on the very point of laying his hands on a very rich kingdom. Complaining of this attack, the envoys begged the senate to come to the rescue of a kingdom and a royal pair who were friends of Roman rule. Such, they argued, were the benefits conferred on Antiochus by the Roman people, and such their influence with all kings and nations that, if they sent

[2] As part of their costume as suppliants.
[3] On Antiochus' sojourn at Rome, cf. XLI. xx; a previous stage in Antiochus' encroachment on Egypt was mentioned in XLII. xxix. 5, cf. Polybius XXVII. 19, also XXVIII. 18 f. (16 f.) The "elder Ptolemy" is Ptolemy VI Philometor; the "younger," Euergetes II.

A.U.C. 586 qui ei nuntiarent [1] non placere senatui sociis regibus bellum fieri, extemplo abscessurus a moenibus Alexandreae abducturusque exercitum in Syriam esset.
12 Quod si cunctentur facere, brevi extorres regno Ptolemaeum et Cleopatram Romam venturos, cum pudore quodam populi Romani, quod nullam opem in
13 ultimo discrimine fortunarum tulissent. Moti patres precibus Alexandrinorum extemplo C. Popilium Laenatem et C. Decimium et C. Hostilium legatos ad
14 finiendum inter reges bellum miserunt. Prius Antiochum, dein Ptolemaeum adire iussi et nuntiare, ni absistatur bello, per utrum stetisset, eum non pro amico nec pro socio habituros esse.

XX. His intra triduum simul cum legatis Alexandrinis profectis legati ex Macedonia quinquatribus ultimis adeo expectati venerunt ut, nisi [2] vesper esset,
2 extemplo senatum vocaturi consules fuerint. Postero die senatus fuit legatique auditi sunt. Ii nuntiant maiore periculo quam emolumento exercitum per
3 invios saltus in Macedoniam inductum. Pieriam, quo processisset, regem tenere; castra castris prope ita conlata esse, ut flumine Elpeo [3] interiecto arceantur. Neque regem pugnandi potestatem facere, nec

[1] ei nuntiarent *Harant*: enuntiarent *V*.
[2] ut nisi *Kreyssig*: utuinisi *V*.
[3] Elpeo *Madvig*: epeia *V*.

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[1] Polybius XXIX. 2 (1) stresses the Roman interest in keeping Antiochus out of Egypt; he does not indicate that the Roman embassy accompanied the Egyptians, and puts more emphasis than does Livy on Roman initiative.

[2] This festival, first mentioned for the year 207 B.C., occurred on March 19–23, see XXVI. xxvii. 1 and the note, also Ovid, *Fasti* III. 810; *C.I.L.* I.[2] 1, p. 312 gives a discussion of the origin of the name (probably because it originally fell on the "fifth" day, Roman inclusive reckoning, after the Ides),





envoys to declare to Antiochus that the senate did not wish war to be made on kings allied to it, Antiochus would at once depart from the walls of Alexandria and would lead his army back into Syria. If they hesitated to do this, shortly Ptolemy and Cleopatra, robbed of their kingdom, would arrive in Rome, somewhat to the shame of the Roman people, because they had offered no aid in the final crisis of their fortunes. The senators, stirred by the entreaties of the Alexandrines, at once [1] sent Gaius Popilius Laenas, Gaius Decimius, and Gaius Hostilius as envoys to bring an end to the war between the kings. They were instructed to approach first Antiochus and then Ptolemy, and to proclaim that if war was not concluded, the party constituting the obstacle would not be considered either a friend or an ally to the Romans. B.C. 168

XX. This embassy left within three days along with the envoys from Alexandria. The mission from Macedonia arrived on the last day of the Quinquatrus [2] amid such eagerness that, had it not been evening, the consuls would have summoned the senate at once. Next day the session was held and the envoys were heard. They reported as follows: "The army has been led into Macedonia by trackless passes at a risk disproportionate to the gain. Pieria, which the army has reached, is in the hands of the king; the encampments are so nearly in contact that hardly more than the Elpeüs River separates them. The king does not offer battle, and our forces have

and points out that besides being connected with Minerva, the day had associations with Mars, and seems to have been the time for ceremonial readying of weapons for the campaigning season.

A.U.C. 586
4 nostris vim ad cogendum esse. Hiemem etiam
insuper[1] rebus gerendis intervenisse. In otio militem
ali,[2] nec plus quam VI dierum [3] frumentum habere.
5 Macedonum dici triginta milia armatorum esse. Si
Ap. Claudio circa Lychnidum satis validus exercitus
foret, potuisse eum[4] ancipiti bello distinere regem:
nunc et Appium et quod[5] cum eo praesidii sit in
summo periculo esse, nisi propere aut iustus exercitus
6 eo mittatur, aut illi inde deducantur. Ad classem se
ex castris profectos sociorum navalium partem morbo
audisse absumptam, partem, maxime qui ex Sicilia
fuerint, domos suas abisse, et homines navibus deesse;
qui sint, neque stipendium accepisse neque vesti-
7 menta habere. Eumenen classemque eius, tamquam
vento adlatas naves, sine causa et venisse et abisse;
nec animum eius regis constare satis visum. Sicut
omnia de Eumene dubia, ita[6] Attali egregie constan-
tem fidem nuntiabant.

XXI. Legatis auditis tunc de bello referre sese L.
2 Aemilius dixit. Senatus decrevit, ut in octo[7] legiones
parem numerum tribunorum consules et populus

[1] Hiemem etiam insuper *Vahlen*: in hiemem etiam in spe *V*.
[2] In otio militem ali *Fr*: notiomilitialii *V*.
[3] dierum *add. Sigonius*: mensium *add. Kreyssig*: modium *add. Goldbacher*: *om. V*.
[4] potuisse eum *Harant*: potuisset in *V*.
[5] quod *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[6] ita *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om. V*.
[7] ut in octo *ed. Bas. 1535*: utiocto *V*.

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[1] Livy has not mentioned him since XLIII. xxiii. 6; Polybius XXVIII. 13 (11) tells how Appius in the meantime had tried to raise Achaean troops, but had been hindered by Marcius.





not the strength to compel him to do so. Also the B.C. 168
winter is an added obstacle to an active campaign. The soldiers are being supported in idleness and have grain for no more than six days. The Macedonian forces are said to number thirty thousand. If Appius Claudius[1] had sufficient strength in the region of Lychnidus, he could have distracted the king with a second front; as it is, Appius and the force with him are in the greatest danger unless either a full-fledged army is quickly sent him or his present force is extricated. As to the fleet, we heard after we left the camp that some of the sailors have been lost by disease, and some, especially the Sicilians, have gone home, so that the ships lack crews. Those who are there have not received their pay and are insufficiently clothed. Eumenes and his fleet have come and gone for no good reason, as if his ships were drifting before the wind; and there is no good evidence that the spirit of this king is unwavering."[2] The envoys reported that Attalus was as gallantly unswerving as Eumenes was entirely undependable.

XXI. After hearing the envoys, Lucius Aemilius laid before the senate the question of the conduct of the war. The senate decreed that the consuls and the people should each choose half of the tribunes for

[2] The immediate facts reported by Livy, above, x. 12–xiii. 10, and xxviii, do not bear this out; but Eumenes was not above bargaining with Perseus, below, xxiv–xxv (based on Polybius), and some of Livy's sources may have projected back later Roman suspicions, cf. above, xiii. 9. 12–13. Livy usually falls into the attitude, natural enough for his own day, that no one had any business to act contrary to Roman interests; but in the second century, Rome was not the paramount power in the Macedonian–Greek world, and it was not even clear that she proposed at this time to take a permanent interest in the affairs of that region.

A.U.C. 586
crearent; creari autem neminem eo anno placere,
3 nisi qui honorem gessisset. Tum ex omnibus tribunis
militum uti L. Aemilius in duas legiones in Mace-
doniam, quos eorum velit, eligat et ut sollemni
Latinarum perfecto L. Aemilius consul, Cn. Octavius
praetor, cui classis obtigisset, in provinciam pro-
4 ficiscantur. Additus est his tertius L. Anicius
praetor, cuius inter peregrinos iurisdictio erat; eum
in provinciam Illyricum circa Lychnidum Ap. Claudio
5 succedere placuit. Dilectus cura C. Licinio consuli
imposita. Is septem [1] milia civium Romanorum et
6 equites ducentos scribere iussus et sociis nominis
Latini septem milia peditum imperare, quadringentos
7 equites, et Cn. Servilio Galliam obtinenti provinciam
litteras mittere ut sescentos equites conscriberet.
8 Hunc exercitum ad collegam primo quoque tempore
mittere in Macedoniam iussus; neque in ea provincia
plus quam duas legiones esse; eas repleri, ut sena
milia peditum, trecenos haberent equites; ceteros
9 pedites equitesque [2] in praesidiis disponi. Qui eorum
idonei ad militandum non essent, dimitti. Decem
praeterea milia peditum imperata sociis et octingenti
10 equites. Id praesidii additum Anicio praeter duas

[1] imposita. Is septem *Fr*: inpositiscentum *V*.
[2] pedites equitesque *Vahlen*: peditesque *V*.

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[1] These provisions for officering the legions provided for reasonably competent officers, while still avoiding the suspicion of favouritism among an office-holding clique which may have caused the use of popular election of tribunes the previous year, XLIII. xii. 7. Of the eight legions, two were probably for Gaul (*i.e.*, north Italy), and two were to be Home Guard (*urbanae*); officers less competent or less congenial to the consuls could be shunted to these legions. The dangers of





eight legions; however, it was voted that no one who had not held office should be chosen that year.[1] Then from among the tribunes Lucius Aemilius was to choose whomever he preferred for the two legions for Macedonia. It was further voted that after the completion of the Latin Festival, the consul Lucius Aemilius and Gnaeus Octavius, the praetor to whom the fleet had been allotted, should depart for their field of operations. To them was added the praetor Lucius Anicius, whose post was the court for aliens; it was voted that he should succeed Appius Claudius in the Illyrian theatre near Lychnidus. Charge over the levy was given to the consul Gaius Licinius. He was instructed to enroll seven thousand Roman citizens and two hundred horsemen and to demand of the allies of the Latin Name seven thousand infantry and four hundred cavalry, and he was to send a despatch to Gnaeus Servilius the commander in the province of Gaul, instructing him to enroll six hundred cavalry. This force Licinius was ordered to send as promptly as possible to his colleague in Macedonia; a limit of two legions was placed on the army on that front, and each legion was to be reinforced till it contained six thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry; the surplus infantry and cavalry were to be distributed as garrisons. Men unfit for military service were to be discharged. An added levy was imposed on the allies of ten thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry. This force was given to Anicius besides the B.C. 168

"inbreeding" in office-holding at Rome are especially well illustrated by the Jugurthine War; the counter-dangers of politically able commoners elevated to military posts are shown by the careers of Flaminius and Varro in the Second Punic War.

A.U.C. 586 legiones, quas portare in Macedoniam est iussus, quina milia peditum et ducenos habentes, trecenos equites. Et in classem quinque milia navalium socium
11 sunt scripta. Licinius consul duabus legionibus obtinere provinciam iussus; eo addere sociorum decem milia peditum et sescentos equites.

XXII. Senatus consultis perfectis L. Aemilius consul e curia in contionem processit orationemque
2 talem habuit[1]: "animadvertisse videor, Quirites, maiorem mihi sortito Macedoniam provinciam gratulationem factam, quam cum aut consul sum creatus,[2]
3 aut quo die magistratum inii,[3] neque id ob aliam causam, quam quia bello in Macedonia, quod diu trahitur, existimastis dignum maiestate populi Romani exitum per me imponi posse. Deos quoque huic favisse sorti spero eosdemque in rebus gerendis
4 adfuturos esse. Haec partim ominari,[4] partim sperare possum; illud adfirmare pro certo audeo,[5] me omni ope adnisurum esse, ne[6] frustra vos hanc
5 spem de me conceperitis. Quae ad bellum opus sunt et senatus decrevit et, quoniam extemplo proficisci placet neque ego in mora sum, C. Licinius collega, vir egregius, aeque enixe parabit ac si ipse id bellum
6 gesturus esset. Vos quae scripsero senatui ac vobis, iis modo credite et cavete rumores credulitate vestra
7 alatis,[7] quorum auctor nemo extabit. Nam nunc

[1] habuit *add. Fr*: *om. V.*
[2] aut consul sum creatus *Pluygers*: aut conpulsus consulatus *V.* [3] inii *Madvig*: inissent *V.*
[4] ominari *Crévier*: opinari *V.*
[5] certo audeo *Madvig*: certo habeo audeo *V.*
[6] ne *add. Fr*: *om. V.*
[7] ac vobis, iis modo credite et cavete rumores credulitate vestra alatis *Novák*: aut vobis mores crudelitatis vestrae adlatis *V.*





two legions which he was ordered to transport to B.C. 168
Macedonia, each legion having five thousand two hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry. Moreover, five thousand sailors were enrolled for the fleet. Licinius the consul was ordered to hold his area with two legions, and to add to them ten thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry of the allies.

XXII. When the senate had finished its voting, the consul Lucius Aemilius went from the senate-house to a public meeting and made the following speech: "I seem to have noticed, fellow-citizens, that greater congratulations were offered me when I was allotted Macedonia as my field of operations than when my election as consul was announced, or on the day when I entered upon office. The reason for this was none other, I believe, than that you regard me as capable of bringing the long-drawn-out war in Macedonia to an end worthy of the high position of the Roman people. The gods too, I hope, approve this fall of the lot and will likewise be at my side in action. So far I can partly prophesy, and partly hope; another matter I dare to assert as sure—namely, that I will strive with every effort that the hope you have conceived for me shall not be vain. What is required for the war has been voted by the senate, and since it is determined that I shall set out at once, for which I am not reluctant, the preparations will be made by that excellent man, my colleague Gaius Licinius, as vigorously as if he were going to conduct the campaign. For your part, see to it that you have confidence only in the reports I make to the senate and to you, and beware of nourishing by your credulity the gossip for which no sponsor will appear. For I have noticed that, as is commonly the case, so

A.U.C. 586

quidem, quod vulgo fieri, hoc praecipue bello, animadverti, nemo tam famae contemptor est cuius
8 non debilitari animus possit. In omnibus circulis atque etiam, si dis placet, in conviviis sunt qui exercitus in Macedoniam ducant, ubi castra locanda sint sciant, quae loca praesidiis occupanda, quando aut quo saltu intranda Macedonia, ubi horrea ponenda, qua terra, mari subvehantur commeatus, quando cum hoste manus conserendae, quando quiesse
9 sit melius. Nec quid faciendum [1] sit modo statuunt, sed quidquid aliter quam ipsi censuere factum est,
10 consulem veluti dicta die accusant. Haec magna impedimenta res gerentibus sunt.[2] Neque enim omnes tam firmi et constantis animi contra adversum rumorem esse possunt, quam [3] Q. Fabius fuit qui suum imperium minui per vanitatem populi maluit
11 quam secunda fama male rem publicam gerere. Non sum is, Quirites,[4] qui non existimem admonendos duces esse: immo eum qui de sua unius sententia omnia gerat, superbum iudico magis quam sapientem.
12 Quid ergo est? primum a prudentibus et proprie rei militaris peritis et usu doctis monendi imperatores sunt; deinde ab iis [5] qui intersunt gerendis rebus, qui loca,[6] qui hostem, qui temporum opportunitatem vident, qui in eodem velut navigio participes sunt
13 periculi. Itaque si quis est qui, quod e re publica sit, suadere se mihi in eo bello quod gesturus sum confidat, is ne deneget operam rei publicae et in

[1] quiesse sit melius. Nec quid faciendum *Kreyssig*: quiesset sit ne quid melius faciendum *V*.
[2] sunt *Fr*: quae *V*.
[3] possunt, quam *Madvig*: possent *V*.
[4] Quirites *Novák*: que *V*.
[5] iis *Kreyssig*: his *V*.
[6] gerendis rebus, qui loca *Sigonius*: gerendis loco *V*.





now especially in this war no one is so scornful of rumour that his spirit cannot be weakened. In all the clubs and even—God save us!—at dinner-tables there are experts who lead armies to Macedonia, who know where camp should be pitched, what places should be held with garrisons, when or by what pass Macedonia should be invaded, where granaries should be set up, by what routes on land or sea provisions should be supplied, when we must join battle with the enemy and when it is better to remain inactive. Not only do they decide what should be done, but when anything is done contrary to their opinion, they accuse the consul as if he were in the dock. Such behaviour is a great obstacle to the men in the field. For not everyone is as unwavering and as steadfast of spirit against hostile gossip as was Quintus Fabius, who preferred to have his independence of command lessened by popular folly rather than to neglect the best interests of the state for the sake of acclaim. I am not, fellow-citizens, one who believes that no advice may be given to leaders; nay rather I judge him to be not a sage, but haughty, who conducts everything according to his own opinion alone. What therefore is my conclusion? Generals should receive advice, in the first place from the experts who are both specially skilled in military matters and have learned from experience; secondly, from those who are on the scene of action, who see the terrain, the enemy, the fitness of the occasion, who are sharers in the danger, as it were aboard the same vessel. Thus, if there is anyone who is confident that he can advise me as to the best advantage of the state in this campaign which I am about to conduct, let him not refuse his services to B.C. 168

A.U.C. 586

Macedoniam mecum veniat. Nave, equo, tabernaculo,
14 viatico etiam a me iuvabitur; si quem id facere piget et[1] otium urbanum militiae laboribus praeoptat, e
15 terra ne gubernaverit. Sermonum satis ipsa praebet urbs; iis loquacitatem[2] suam contineat: nos castrensibus consiliis contentos futuros esse sciat."

16 Ab hac contione Latinis, quae pridie kal. Apriles fuerunt in monte sacrificio rite perpetrato protinus inde et consul et praetor Cn. Octavius in Macedoniam
17 profecti sunt. Traditum memoriae est[3] maiore quam solita frequentia prosequentium consulem celebratum, ac prope certa spe ominatos esse homines, finem esse Macedonico bello maturumque reditum cum egregio triumpho consulis fore.

XXIII. Dum haec in Italia geruntur, Perseus quod iam inchoatum perficere, quia impensa pecuniae facienda erat, non inducebat in animum, ut Gentium Illy-
2 riorum regem sibi adiungeret, hoc, postquam intrasse saltum Romanos et adesse discrimen ultimum belli animadvertit, non ultra differendum ratus, cum per[4] Hippiam legatum trecenta argenti talenta pactus

[1] et *add. ed. Par. 1573*: *om. V.*
[2] urbs; iis loquacitatem *Madvig*: urbisloquacitatem *V.*
[3] traditum memoriae est *Vahlen*: traditum est memoriae est *V.*
[4] per *add. Fr*: *om. V.*

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[1] Polybius XXIX. 1 (1a) also mentions Paulus' attack on the armchair generals, which President Roosevelt used effectively (*New York Times*, Mar. 18, 1942, p. 10). In sec. 2, cf. the note on the text, it is possible that there was a reference to Paulus' reluctance to assume the consulship in this year, a reluctance to which Plutarch, *Aemilius* x f., refers both as a fact and as an item in Paulus' speech.





the state, but come with me into Macedonia. I will furnish him with his sea-passage, with a horse, a tent, and even travel-funds. If anyone is reluctant to do this and prefers the leisure of the city to the hardships of campaigning, let him not steer the ship from on shore. The city itself provides enough subjects for conversation; let him confine his garrulity to these; and let him be aware that I shall be satisfied with the advice originating in camp."[1] B.C. 168

After this address and the due completion of the sacrifice at the Latin Festival, which was held on March 31[2] on the Alban Mount, both the consul and the praetor Gnaeus Octavius immediately set out for Macedonia. History records that the consul was escorted by an unusually great throng of persons paying their respects to him, and that men prophesied with almost sure expectation that the Macedonian war would come to an end, and that the return of the consul would be prompt and in great triumph.

XXIII. While these events were occurring in Italy, Perseus decided that since he had discovered that the Romans had entered the pass and that the final crisis of the war impended, he must no longer postpone the project which he could not bring himself to complete because expenditure of money was required—namely, gaining the adherence of Gentius, king of Illyria. Inasmuch as Perseus had agreed through his envoy Hippias[3] on a payment of three

[2] The date had been set for two weeks later, according to xix. 4 above; it seems unlikely that the date, once announced, could have been advanced, and there is probably a confusion in the text between Ides and Kalends either here or above.

[3] Not named by Livy in his description of an earlier stage of the negotiations in XLIII. xx. In the present passage, Livy is following Polybius XXIX. 3–4.

A.U.C. 586 esset, ita ut obsides ultro citroque darentur, Pan-
tauchum[1] misit ex fidissimis amicis ad ea perficienda.
3 Meteone[2] Labeatidis terrae Pantauchus regi
Illyrio occurrit; ibi et iusiurandum ab rege et obsides
accepit. Missus et a Gentio est legatus nomine
Olympio, qui iusiurandum a Perseo obsidesque
4 exigeret. Cum eodem ad pecuniam accipiendam
missi sunt; et auctore Pantaucho, qui Rhodum legati
cum Macedonibus irent Parmenio et Morcus desti-
5 nantur.[3] Quibus ita mandatum ut iureiurando ob-
sidibusque et pecunia accepta tum demum Rhodum
proficiscerentur: duorum simul regum nomine
6 incitari Rhodios ad bellum Romanum posse. Adiunc-
tam civitatem penes quam unam tum rei navalis
gloria esset nec terra nec mari spem relicturam
Romanis.

7 Venientibus Illyriis Perseus ab Elpeo[4] amni ex
castris cum omni equitatu profectus ad Dium occurrit.
8 Ibi ea quae convenerant[5] circumfuso agmine equitum
facta, quos adesse foederi sanciendo[6] cum Gentio
societatis volebat rex, aliquantum eam rem ratus
9 animorum iis adiecturam. Et obsides in conspectu
omnium dati acceptique; et Pellam ad thensauros
regios missis qui pecuniam acciperent, qui Rhodum
irent cum Illyriis legatis Thessalonicae conscendere
10 iussi. Ibi Metrodorus erat, qui nuper ab Rhodo
venerat, auctoribusque Dinone[7] et Polyarato, prin-

[1] Pantauchum *J. F. Gronovius*: pantaucum *V*: *et alibi in hoc nomine alia errata apparent, quae non notabimus.*
[2] Meteone *Kreyssig*: mitione *V*.
[3] destinantur *J. F. Gronovius*: destinatur *V*.
[4] Elpeo *Madvig*: Enipeo *V*.
[5] convenerant *J. F. Gronovius*: convenerunt *V*.
[6] sanciendo *Gitlbauer*: sancio *V*.
[7] Dinone *J. F. Gronovius*: Dione *V*, *et alibi*.





hundred talents of silver, on condition of an exchange of hostages, he sent Pantauchus, one of his most trusty friends, to complete the agreement. At Meteon in the region of Labeatis, Pantauchus met the Illyrian king; there he received the king's oath and his hostages. Gentius too sent an envoy named Olympio to require the oath and the hostages of Perseus. Others were sent with him to receive the money; and, at Pantauchus' suggestion, Parmenio and Morcus were named as envoys to go with the Macedonians to Rhodes. To them instructions were given to set out for Rhodes only after the oath, the hostages, and the money had been received; it was thought that by the prestige of two kings at once the Rhodians could be induced to war with the Romans, and that once the kings were joined by the state to which belonged a unique reputation for sea-power, no hope on land or sea would be left the Romans. B.C. 168

On the arrival of the Illyrians, Perseus left his camp at the Elpeüs River with all his cavalry and met them at Dium. There the terms agreed upon were executed in the presence of the surrounding column of cavalry, whom the king wished to be present at the ratification of the alliance with Gentius, thinking that it would somewhat raise their spirits. The hostages were also given and received in the sight of all, those who were to receive the money were sent to the royal treasury at Pella and those who were to accompany the Illyrian envoys to Rhodes were ordered to take ship at Thessalonica. Metrodorus[1] was at that port, a recent arrival from Rhodes, who stated, on the authority of Dinon and Polyaratus, the

[1] A Rhodian, agent of the pro-Macedonian party.

A.U.C. 586 cipibus civitatis eius, adfirmabat Rhodios paratos ad bellum esse. Is princeps iunctae cum Illyriis legationis datus est.

XXIV. Eodem tempore et ad Eumenen et ad Antiochum communia mandata, quae subicere condicio rerum poterat: natura inimica inter se esse
2 liberam civitatem et regem. Singulos populum Romanum adgredi et, quod indignum sit,[1] regum
3 viribus reges oppugnare. Attalo adiutore patrem suum oppressum; Eumene adiuvante et quadam ex parte etiam Philippo, patre suo, Antiochum oppugnatum; in se nunc et Eumenen et Prusian armatos
4 esse. Si Macedoniae regnum sublatum foret, proximam Asiam esse, quam iam ex parte sub specie liberandi civitates[2] suam fecerint, deinde Syriam.
5 Iam Prusiam Eumeni honore praeferri, iam Antiochum victorem ab Aegypto, praemio belli,[3] arceri.
6 Haec cogitantem providere iubebat, ut aut ad pacem secum faciendam compelleret Romanos aut perseverantes in bello iniusto communes duceret omnium regum hostes.

7 Ad Antiochum aperta mandata erant; ad Eumenen per speciem captivorum redimendorum missus legatus erat; re[4] vera occultiora quaedam agebantur, quae in praesentia invisum quidem et suspectum Romanis

[1] quod indignum *Novák*: quo indignus *V*.
[2] liberandi civitates *Madvig*: liberanda civitatis *V*.
[3] Aegypto, praemio belli *Vahlen*: praemio belli ab egypto *V*.
[4] re *add. Koch*: *om. V*.

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[1] They were heads of the pro-Macedonian party, but Livy may exaggerate their official position.





heads of the state,[1] that the Rhodians were ready for war. Metrodorus was assigned as the leader of the combined embassy with the Illyrians. B.C. 168

XXIV. At the same time, identical messages, suggested by the state of affairs, were sent both to Eumenes and to Antiochus, as follows: by nature a free state and a king were things hostile to each other; the Roman people attacked kings one by one, and—an unjust state of affairs—assailed kings with the help of kings; Perseus' father had been overcome with the aid of Attalus; with Eumenes helping, and to a certain extent Perseus' father Philip as well, Antiochus had been assailed[2]; now both Eumenes and Prusias were in arms against Perseus; if the kingdom of Macedonia were out of the way, next would come Asia Minor, which the Romans had already made their own to some extent under pretext of freeing communities, and after Asia Minor, Syria. Already Prusias was being given a position above Eumenes, already Antiochus, though victorious, was being barred from Egypt, his prize of war. Perseus bade each king, on considering these facts, to take such steps that either he might force the Romans to make peace with Perseus, or if Rome persevered in an unjust war might regard the Romans as the common enemy of all kings.

The message to Antiochus was open; to Eumenes the envoy was sent under guise of ransoming prisoners, but in fact certain more secret matters were under discussion, which for the time being embarrassed Eumenes, who was already an object of

[2] On Attalus, see above, XXIX. xii. 14 and XXXI. xiv; for Eumenes, XXXV. xiii; XXXVI. xliv; XXXVII. xli; for Philip, XXXVII. vii.

A.U.C. 586 Eumenen falsis gravioribusque criminibus onerarunt;
8 proditor [1] enim ac prope hostis habitus, dum inter se duo reges captantes fraude et avaritia certant.
9 Cydas erat Cretensis, ex intimis Eumenis. Hic prius ad Amphipolim cum Chimaro quodam populari suo, militante apud Persea, inde postea ad Demetriadem semel cum Menecrate quodam, iterum cum Antimacho,[2] regiis ducibus, sub ipsis moenibus urbis
10 conlocutus fuerat. Herophon [3] quoque, qui tum missus est, duabus ad eundem Eumenen iam ante
11 legationibus functus erat. Quae conloquia occulta et legationes infames quidem erant, sed quid actum esset quidve inter reges convenisset, ignorabatur. Res autem ita sese habuit.

XXV. Eumenes neque favit victoriae Persei, neque bello eam iuvare [4] in [5] animo habuit, non tam quia paternae inter eos inimicitiae erant quam ipsorum
2 odiis inter se accensae: non ea regum aemulatio, ut aequo animo Persea tantas apisci opes tantamque gloriam, quanta Romanis victis eum manebat,
3 Eumenes visurus fuerit. Cernebat et Persea iam inde ab initio belli omni modo spem pacis temptasse

[1] gravioribusque criminibus onerarunt; proditor *Madvig*: gravioribus proditor *V*.
[2] Antimacho *J. F. Gronovius*: anthioco *V*.
[3] Herophon *Kreyssig*: eropon *V*.
[4] eam iuvare *Hartel*: eum inuadere *V*.
[5] in *add. Sigonius*: *om. V*.

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[1] Polybius XXIX. 7-8 (1d) calls Eumenes "most unscrupulous" and Perseus "most miserly," and says that Eumenes "was unable by his lack of scruple to get the best of Perseus' stinginess."

[2] For the negotiations at Demetrias, see above, xiii. 9, where Antimachus only is mentioned on the Macedonian side.

[3] Livy is in this chapter expanding the account of Polybius XXIX. 7-8 (1d).





hatred and suspicion to the Romans, with false and B.C. 168
more serious charges; for he was already regarded as a traitor and almost an enemy, while the two kings with grasping hands vied with each other in guile and greed.[1] There was a Cretan, Cydas, one of Eumenes' henchmen. He had held conversations, first at Amphipolis with a certain Chimarus, a fellow-countryman who was serving in Perseus' army, then later at Demetrias, beneath the very walls of the city, once with a certain Menecrates and again with Antimachus, both of whom were officers of the king.[2] Herophon also, who was then sent by Perseus, had similarly undertaken two previous missions to Eumenes. These conversations were secret, and the missions caused bad rumours, but there was no knowledge of what had been discussed or upon what the kings had agreed. The actual state of affairs, however, was as follows.

XXV. Eumenes did not want a victory for Perseus, nor did he intend to assist him in winning one by military means, not so much because of the mutual hostility of their fathers, as because of the hatred engendered between himself and Perseus.[3] The jealousy of kings is such that Eumenes would not have viewed with calmness the attainment by Perseus of such great strength and prestige as awaited him if he defeated the Romans. Eumenes also perceived that from the very outset of the war Perseus had nurtured the hope of peace in every way [4] and as

[4] Livy now states what his presentation of facts showed before—that Perseus did not want the war, and stood on the defensive from the first, see Vol. XII. 396 and 460, notes 1, Roman suspicions and propaganda notwithstanding; the latter have influenced Livy extensively in his commentary on events.

A.U.C. 586 et in dies magis, quo propior admoveretur terror,
4 nihil neque agere aliud neque cogitare; Romanos
quoque, quia traheretur diutius spe ipsorum bellum,
et ipsos duces et senatum, non abhorrere a finiendo
5 tam incommodo ac difficili bello. Hac utriusque
partis voluntate explorata, quod fieri etiam sua
sponte taedio validioris, metu infirmioris credebat
posse, in eo suam operam venditare conciliandae
6 gratia pacis [1] cupiit. Nam modo ne iuvaret bello
Romanos terra marique, modo pacis patrandae cum
Romanis paciscebatur mercedem: ne bello interesset,
mille talenta, ut pacem conciliaret, mille et quin-
7 genta.[2] In utrumque [3] non fidem modo se, sed
obsides quoque dare paratum esse ostendebat.
8 Perseus ad rem inchoandam promptissimus erat
cogente metu et de obsidibus accipiendis sine
dilatione agebat, conveneratque ut accepti Cretam
9 mitterentur. Ubi ad pecuniae mentionem ventum
erat, ibi haesitabat; et utique alteram tanti [4]
nominis regibus [5] turpem ac sordidam et danti et
10 magis accipienti mercedem esse aiebat [6]; in spem
Romanae pacis non recusare impensam, sed eam
pecuniam perfecta re daturum, interea Samothracae
11 in templo depositurum. Ea insula cum ipsius
dicionis esset, videre Eumenes nihil interesse, ibi [7]

[1] conciliandae gratia pacis *Hartel*: conciliandam gratiam magis *V*.
[2] interesset mille talenta ut pacem conciliaret mille et quingenta *Zingerle*: interesset ∞ et a *V*.
[3] in utrumque *J. F. Gronovius*: in utroque *V*.
[4] alteram tanti *Madvig*: alteram in tanti *V*.
[5] regibus *Fr*: regis *V*.
[6] aiebat *Madvig*: malebat *V*.
[7] ibi *add. Crévier*: *om. V*.





time went on had come more and more, as the threat came closer, to treat and think of nothing else. Since the war was dragging on longer than the Romans had hoped, they too, their commanders, and their senate would not be averse, so Eumenes thought, to ending so disturbing and difficult a war. Having ascertained this willingness on either side, Eumenes was eager to put on sale his good offices in an effort to negotiate the peace which he thought might even come about automatically through the weariness of the stronger and the fears of the weaker side. Therefore Eumenes tried to negotiate for a reward, now for not aiding the Romans' military effort on land or sea, now for securing peace with the Romans; for his abstention from war, his price was a thousand talents,[1] for negotiating peace, fifteen hundred. He showed himself always ready not only to pledge his word to either course of action, but even to give hostages. B.C. 168

Perseus was very ready to undertake the attempt under pressure of fear, and as to the acceptance of hostages the discussion proceeded without delay, and it was agreed that, when accepted, the hostages should be sent to Crete. When the subject of money came up, there Perseus hesitated, and said that especially for the first alternative the payment of money was dishonourable and base for kings of so high a reputation, not only for the giver, but even more for the recipient; for the hope of peace with the Romans, he would not refuse an expenditure, but he would pay on the completion of the enterprise, and meanwhile would deposit the funds in the temple on Samothrace. Since this island was in Perseus' realm, Eumenes saw that it made no difference

[1] Polybius says five hundred.

A.U.C. 586
an Pellae pecunia esset; id agere, ut partem aliquam
12 praesentem ferret. Ita nequiquam inter se captati
nihil praeter infamiam moverunt.[1]

XXVI. Nec haec tantum Persei per avaritiam est
dimissa res, cum pecunia statuta aut[2] pacem habere
per Eumenen, quae vel parte regni redimenda esset,
aut deceptus[3] protrahere inimicum mercede onus-
2 tum et hostes merito ei Romanos posset facere; sed
et ante Genti regis[4] parata societas et tum Gallorum
effusorum per Illyricum ingens oblatum auxilium[5]
3 avaritia dimissum est. Veniebant decem milia
equitum, par numerus peditum et ipsorum iungen-
tium cursum equis et in vicem prolapsorum equitum
4 vacuos capientium ad pugnam equos. Hi pacti erant
eques denos praesentes aureos, pedes quinos, mille
5 dux eorum. Venientibus his Perseus ab Elpeo[6]
ex castris profectus obviam cum dimidia copiarum
parte denuntiare per vicos urbesque quae viae pro-
pinquae sunt coepit ut commeatus expedirent,
6 frumenti, vini, pecorum ut copia esset. Ipse equos

[1] moverunt *Novák*: moue *V*.
[2] pecunia statuta aut *Hartel*: pecuniamtutamet *V*.
[3] aut deceptus *J. F. Gronovius*: aucreceptus *V*.
[4] sed et ante Genti regis *Bekker*: sed tam tegenti regis *V*.
[5] auxilium *add. Weissenborn*: *om. V*.
[6] Elpeo *Madvig*: Elpeio *V*.

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[1] These people may have been much the same as the Bastarnae of XL. v. 10 and lvii, cf. also XLI. xix. 3–11. The name of the leader, Clondicus, is the same here and in XL. lviii. 8, which makes it sound like a title rather than a proper name. In Polybius XXV. 6 (XXVI. 9), there is a reference to the Bastarnae joining Perseus and the Gauls (Paton's interpretation), which has led some scholars to think that Polybius was referring to the Bastarnae as Gauls (Galatai) here.





whether the money was there or at Pella; he attempted to secure some sort of down payment. And so having tried vainly to overreach each other, the kings got themselves nothing but a bad reputation. B.C. 168

XXVI. This was not the only failure incurred by Perseus because of miserliness, when by payment of money he could either through Eumenes' efforts have secured peace, which he should have bought even at the price of part of his kingdom, or had he been deceived, he could have exposed his enemy with the booty on him and aroused just hostility toward him on the part of the Romans. But a previous parallel case was that of the alliance with King Gentius, ready for the taking; and at this same time Perseus lost through miserliness the tremendous assistance of the Gauls who were scattered through the region of Illyria.[1] There were on their way ten thousand cavalry and an equal number of infantry who matched their pace to that of the horses, and in turn seized the riderless horses of fallen cavalrymen for further fighting. These men had been pledged a cash payment of ten gold pieces per cavalryman, five per infantryman, and a thousand for their leader. When they approached, Perseus went to meet them from his camp at the Elpeus with half of his forces and began to give orders throughout the villages and cities near the road to bring out provisions so that there would be plenty of grain, wine, and animals. He

Properly, the Bastarnae were Germans rather than Gauls, as was recognized soon after Livy's time, cf. Strabo VII. 306, Pliny, *N.H.* IV. 81, Tacitus, *Germania* 46. The location of the Bastarnae was to the north-east of the location here suggested for these Gauls, but cf. below, xxvii. 3.

A.U.C. 586

phalerasque et sagula donum principibus ferre et
parvum auri, quod inter paucos divideret, multitu-
7 dinem credens trahi spe posse. Ad Almanam urbem
pervenit et in ripa fluminis Axi posuit castra. Circa
Desudabam in Maedica exercitus Gallorum con-
8 sederat, mercedem pactam opperiens. Eo mittit
Antigonum, ex purpuratis unum, qui iuberet multitu-
dinem Gallorum ad Bylazora—Paeoniae is locus est—
castra movere, principes ad se venire frequentes.
Septuaginta quinque milia ab Axio flumine et castris
9 regis aberant. Haec mandata ad eos cum pertulisset
Antigonus adiecissetque, per quantam omnium [1]
praeparatam cura regis copiam ituri [2] forent qui-
busque muneribus principes advenientes vestis,
argenti equorumque excepturus rex esset, de his
10 quidem se coram cognituros respondent, illud quod
praesens pepigissent, interrogant, ecquid aurum,
quod in singulos pedites equitesque dividendum esset,
11 secum advexisset.[3] Cum ad id nihil responderetur,
Clondicus, regulus eorum, "abi renuntia ergo"
inquit "regi nisi aurum obsidesque accepissent,
nusquam inde Gallos longius vestigium moturos."
12 Haec relata regi cum essent advocato consilio
cum quid omnes suasuri essent appareret, ipse
pecuniae quam regni melior custos instituit de perfidia
et feritate Gallorum disserere, multorum iam ante

[1] adiecissetque, per quantam omnium *Madvig*: adiecisset quae per quem quantā omnium *V*.
[2] ituri *Madvig*: intuli *V*.
[3] advexisset *J. F. Gronovius*: adduxisset *V*.

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[1] Probably on the mid-Strymon.





himself brought horses, breast-ornaments, and capes as presents for the chief men, and a small amount of gold to distribute among a few, supposing that the rank and file could be led along by expectations. He reached the city of Almana and pitched camp on the banks of the Axius River. The force of Gauls halted near Desudaba in Maedica,[1] waiting for their promised pay. Thither Perseus sent Antigonus, one of the wearers of the purple, to order the rank and file of the Gauls to shift camp to Bylazora (this is a place in Paeonia) and the leaders to come in a body to him. The Gauls were seventy-five miles from the Axius River and the king's camp. Antigonus carried this message to them and added an account of the abundance of all supplies prepared through the thoughtfulness of the king, through which they would travel, and of the gifts of garments, silver, and horses with which the king proposed to greet their leaders on their arrival. The Gauls replied that they would certainly find out about these matters from personal observation, but they asked about what had been promised for immediate delivery—whether he had brought with him the gold which was to be distributed among the individual horsemen and footmen. When they received no reply on this point, Clondicus, their chieftain, declared: "Go back then and report to the king that the Gauls will not move a step farther unless they receive the gold and hostages." B.C. 168

When this message was reported to the king, he summoned his council, but when it became clear what everyone would advise, the king, a trustier guardian of his cash than of his kingdom, began to discourse on the treachery and savagery of the Gauls, which had been demonstrated long since by disasters

A.U.C. 586

13 cladibus experta: periculosum esse tantam multitu-
dinem in Macedoniam accipere, ne [1] graviores eos
14 socios habeant quam hostes Romanos. Quinque
milia equitum satis esse, quibus et uti ad bellum
possent, et quorum multitudinem ipsi non timeant.

XXVII. Apparebat omnibus [2] mercedem eum [3]
timere nec quicquam aliud; sed cum suadere con-
sulenti nemo auderet, remittitur Antigonus qui
nuntiaret quinque milium equitum opera tantum uti
2 regem, non tenere [4] multitudinem aliam. Quod ubi
audivere barbari, ceterorum quidem fremitus fuit
indignantium se frustra excitos sedibus suis; Clondi-
cus rursus interrogat, ecquid ipsis quinque milibus,
3 quod convenisset, numeraret? cum adversus id
quoque misceri ambages cerneret, inviolato fallaci
nuntio, quod vix speraverat ipse posse contingere,
retro ad Histrum perpopulati Thraciam, qua vicina
4 erat viae, redierunt. Quae manus, quieto sedente
rege ad Elpeum [5] adversus Romanos, per [6] Perrhae-
biae saltum in Thessaliam traducta non agros tantum
nudare populando potuit, ne quos inde Romani com-
5 meatus expectarent, sed ipsas excindere urbes
tenente ad Elpeum Perseo Romanos, ne urbibus sociis
6 opitulari possent. Ipsis quoque Romanis de se
cogitandum fuisset, quando neque manere amissa
Thessalia, unde exercitus alebatur, potuissent, neque

[1] ne *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[2] omnibus *Florebellus*: in omnibus *V*.
[3] eum *H. J. Müller*: multitudinem *V*.
[4] tenere *Kreyssig*: temnere *V*.
[5] Elpeum *Madvig*: enipeum *V*.
[6] per *add. Gruter*: *om. V*.





B.C. 168

to many people; it was dangerous, he said, to receive such large numbers into Macedonia, for fear that they would find the Gauls more deadly as allies than the Romans were as enemies; a force of five thousand cavalry was sufficient, for these they could use for military purposes and would not themselves be overawed by their numbers.

XXVII. It was obvious to everyone that he was troubled about the pay and nothing else; but as no one dared to give him the advice he asked for, Antigonus was sent back to announce that the king could use the services of five thousand cavalry only, and would not keep the rest of the host. When the barbarians heard this, there was an indignant outcry from the remainder that they had been to no purpose lured away from their homes. Clondicus again asked whether he would pay what had been agreed upon to these five thousand; and when he saw that to this, too, a devious reply was being concocted, the Gauls returned to the Danube, without injury to the messenger who had tricked them (a fate he had hardly hoped could befall him), but plundering that part of Thrace which adjoined their route. This force of Gauls, even had the king remained inactive at the Elpeüs before the Romans, could if brought into Thessaly through the pass of Perrhaebia have not only stripped the fields by their ravages, so that the Romans could have looked for no provisions from there, but could even have stormed cities as long as Perseus held the Romans at the Elpeüs, in order to prevent their rescuing the cities of their allies. The Romans would have had to consider their own plight, since they could neither remain if Thessaly, the army's source of supplies, were lost, nor could they advance

A.U.C. 586

progredi, cum ex adverso castra Macedonum essent.
7 Hoc amisso auxilio Perseus animos Macedonum,[1] qui ea pependerant spe, haud mediocriter debilitavit.
8 Eadem avaritia Gentium regem sibi alienavit. Nam cum trecenta talenta Pellae missis a Gentio
9 numerasset, signare eos pecuniam passus est[2]; inde decem talenta ad Pantauchum missa, eaque praesentia dari regi iussit; reliquam pecuniam signatam Illyriorum signo portantibus suis praecipit, parvis
10 itineribus veherent, dein cum ad finem Macedoniae ventum esset, subsisterent ibi ac nuntios ab se
11 opperirentur. Gentius exigua parte pecuniae accepta cum adsidue a[3] Pantaucho ad lacessendos hostili facto Romanos stimularetur, M. Perpennam et L. Petilium legatos, qui tum forte ad eum venerant,
12 in custodiam coniecit. Hoc audito Perseus contraxisse eum necessitatem[4] ratus ad bellandum[5] utique cum Romanis, ad revocandum qui pecuniam portabat misit, velut nihil aliud agens quam ut quanta maxima posset praeda ex se[6] victo Romanis reservaretur.
13 Et ab Eumene Herophon[7] ignotis, quae occulte acta erant, redit. De captivis actum esse et ipsi evolgaverant et Eumenes consulem vitandae suspicionis causa certiorem fecit.

XXVIII. Perseus post reditum ab Eumene Herophontis spe deiectus Antenorem et Callippum prae-

[1] essent. Hoc amisso auxilio Perseus animos Macedonum *add. Madvig*: *om. V.*
[2] est *add. ed. Bas. 1535*: *om. V.*
[3] a *add. Sigonius*: *om. V.*
[4] eum necessitatem *Doering*: umenecessitatis *V.*
[5] bellandum *Vahlen*: bellum *V.*
[6] se *Kreyssig*: edicto *V.*
[7] Herophon *Kreyssig*: Hieroponimo *V.*





while the camp of the Macedonians lay before them. B.C. 168
By losing this added strength, Perseus weakened to no small degree the morale of the Macedonians, who had been depending on this source of hope.

The same miserliness caused a rift with Gentius. For when Perseus had counted out three hundred talents for the envoys sent by Gentius to Pella, he permitted them to affix their seal to the money; then he sent ten talents to Pantauchus and ordered this paid at once to the king. His own people were transporting the rest of the money marked with the seal of the Illyrians, and he ordered them to convey it by short stages, and then when the Macedonian frontier was reached, to halt there and wait for messengers from him. After Gentius had received a scant portion of the money, he was continually spurred on by Pantauchus to assail the Romans with an act of hostility, and so he threw into prison Marcus Perpenna and Lucius Petilius, the ambassadors who happened to reach him at this time.[1] On hearing of this Perseus thought that Gentius had committed himself to fight the Romans in any case, and sent a recall to the one conveying the money, as if his only concern was to save as much booty as possible for the Romans after his own defeat.

Herophon also returned from the court of Eumenes, the secret negotiations being still unrevealed. The Macedonians spread the word that discussion about prisoners had taken place, and Eumenes, to avoid suspicion, informed the consul to this same effect.

XXVIII. After the disappointment of Herophon's return from the court of Eumenes, Perseus sent Antenor and Callippus, his naval commanders, with

[1] See below xxxii. 2.

A.U.C. 586 fectos classis cum quadraginta lembis—adiectae ad
hunc numerum quinque pristes erant—Tenedum
2 mittit, ut inde sparsas[1] per Cycladas insulas naves,
Macedoniam cum frumento petentes, tutarentur.
3 Cassandreae deductae naves in portus primum, qui
sub Atho monte sunt, inde Tenedum placido mari
cum traiecissent, stantis in portu Rhodias apertas
naves Eudamumque, praefectum earum, inviolatos[2]
4 atque etiam benigne appellatos dimiserunt. Cognito
deinde in latere altero quinquaginta onerarias suarum
stantibus in ostio portus Eumenis rostratis, quibus
5 Damius praeerat, inclusas esse, circumvectus propere
ac summotis terrore hostium navibus, onerarias datis
qui prosequerentur decem lembis in Macedoniam
mittit, ita ut in tutum[3] prosecuti redirent Tenedum.
6 Nono post die ad classem iam ad Sigeum[4] stantem
redierunt. Inde Subota—insula est interiecta
7 Elaeae et Chio[5]—traiciunt. Forte postero die quam
Subota classis tenuit quinque et triginta naves, quas
hippagogus vocant, ab Elaea profectae cum equitibus
Gallis equisque Phanas promunturium Chiorum pete-
bant, unde transmittere in Macedoniam possent.
8 Attalo ab Eumene mittebantur. Has naves per
altum ferri cum ex specula signum datum Antenori
esset, profectus ab[6] Subotis inter Erythrarum pro-
munturium Chiumque, qua artissimum fretum est,

[1] sparsas *Drakenborch*: sparsae *V*.
[2] inviolatos *J. F. Gronovius*: inviolatus *V*.
[3] tutum *Vascosanus*: totum *V*.
[4] Sigeum *Sigonius*: sigrium *V*.
[5] Elaeae et Chio *Madvig*: eleae etho *V*.
[6] ab *Kreyssig*: ac *V*.





forty scout-ships—there were five cutters[1] added to this number—to Tenedos, in order to protect from that base the ships scattered through the Cyclades islands on their way to Macedonia with grain. The ships were launched at Cassandrea, and after crossing first to the harbours under Mount Athos and thence on a calm sea to Tenedos, they sent away unharmed and even with kind addresses some undecked Rhodian ships which were at the port with Eudamus their commander. Then Antenor discovered that on the other side of the island fifty of their freight ships were blockaded by warships of Eumenes, under command of Damius, which were stationed at the mouth of the harbour. Antenor promptly sailed around and by threat caused the enemy ships to retreat; the freight ships were sent to Macedonia under convoy of ten scout-ships, which were instructed to return to Tenedos after seeing them safe. On the ninth day thereafter they returned to the fleet, which was now anchored at Sigeum. Thence they crossed to Subota, an island lying between Elaea and Chios. On the day after the arrival of the fleet at Subota, thirty-five of the ships called horse-transports, setting out from Elaea with Galatian cavalry and their mounts, were making for Phanae, a cape of Chios, from which they could cross to Macedonia. They were being sent to Attalus by Eumenes. When a signal reached Antenor from a lookout post that these ships were at sea, he started from Subota and met them between the cape of Erythrae and Chios, where B.C. 168

[1] Cf. XXXV. xxvi. 1, Polybius XVI. 2. 9 and XVIII (XVII) 1. 1, lumps these *pristes* with the *lembi* as light fighting vessels. Livy, quoting from the latter passage of Polybius, translates *pristis* by "beaked ship," XXXII. xxxii. 9.

A.U.C. 586
9 iis occurrit. Nihil minus credere praefecti Eumenis
quam Macedonum classem in illo vagari mari: nunc
Romanos esse, nunc Attalum aut remissos aliquos ab
10 Attalo ex castris Romanis Pergamum petere. Sed
cum iam adproprinquantium forma lemborum haud
dubia esset et concitatio remorum derectaeque in se
prorae[1] hostis adpropinquare aperuissent,[2] tunc
11 iniecta trepidatio est. Cum resistendi spes nulla
esset inhabilique navium genere et Gallis vix quietem
12 ferentibus in mari, pars eorum qui propiores con-
tinentis[3] litori erant in Erythraeam enarunt, pars velis
datis ad Chium naves eiecere relictisque equis effusa
13 fuga urbem petebant. Sed propius urbem lembi
accessuque commodiore cum exposuissent armatos,
partim in via fugientes Gallos adepti Macedones
ceciderunt, partim ante portam exclusos. Clauserant
enim Chii portas ignari,[4] qui fugerent aut sequeren-
14 tur. Octingenti ferme Gallorum occisi, ducenti vivi
capti; equi pars in mari fractis navibus absumpti,
parti[5] nervos succiderunt in litore Macedones.
15 Viginti eximiae equos formae cum captivis eosdem
decem lembos, quos ante miserat, Antenor devehere
Thessalonicam iussit et primo quoque tempore ad

[1] prorae *Fr*: prope *V*.
[2] aperuissent *Turnebus*: apparuissent *V*.
[3] continentis *J. F. Gronovius*: continenti *V*.
[4] Chii portas ignari *Madvig*: chio partā signari *V*.
[5] parti *Kreyssig*: partim *V*.

[1] The move by Eumenes to add to Attalus' force indicates that Livy's charges of treachery against Eumenes were none too well founded. The exact course of the action described is not clear from the account in Livy's usual impressionistic manner; but the Macedonian ships seem to have let the transports pass





B.C. 168

the strait is narrowest. Eumenes' officers least of all suspected that a Macedonian fleet was at large in that sea; now they thought them to be Romans, now Attalus, or some men sent back by Attalus from the Roman camp and on their way to Pergamum. But when the shape of the approaching scout-ships was unmistakable and the rapid motion of the oars and the pointing of the prows head-on revealed that enemies were approaching, then panic fell upon them. Since there was no hope of resistance, both because of the unwieldly type of vessel and because the Galatians could hardly withstand an undisturbed voyage, some of them, who were nearer to the mainland, swam ashore at Erythrae and some set sail for Chios, ran their ships aground, and abandoning their horses fled in rout to the city. But as the scout-ships put troops ashore nearer the city at a more convenient landing-place, the Macedonians overtook the Galatians and cut them down, partly as they fled along the road and partly when they were shut out of the city gates. For the Chians had closed their gates, not knowing who were fleeing or who pursuing.[1] About eight hundred of the Galatians were killed and two hundred taken alive; some of the horses were destroyed in the sea as the ships were wrecked, some were hamstrung on shore by the Macedonians. Antenor ordered twenty horses of exceptional beauty, along with the prisoners, to be taken to Thessalonica by the same ten scout-ships he had sent before, which he ordered to return as soon as possible

Subota, wherever that was, and then pursued, overtaking them between Phanae, the cape and harbour at the south end of Chios (cf. above, XXXVI. xliii. 11 and Strabo XIV. 1. 35) and Chios city. The Chians were allies of Rome.

A.U.C. 586 classem reverti; Phanis se eos expectaturum. Tri-
16 duum ferme classis ad urbem stetit.[1] Phanas inde
progressi sunt et spe celerius regressis decem lembis[2]
evecti Aegaeo mari Delum traiecerunt.

XXIX. Dum haec geruntur, legati Romani, C. Po-
pilius et C. Decimius et C. Hostilius, a Chalcide pro-
fecti tribus quinqueremibus Delum cum venissent,
lembos ibi Macedonum quadraginta et quinque regis
2 Eumenis quinqueremis invenerunt. Sanctitas templi
insulaeque inviolatos praestabat omnes. Itaque
permixti Romanique et Macedones et Eumenis
navales socii in[3] templo indutias religione loci prae-
3 bente versabantur. Antenor, Persei praefectus, cum
aliquas alto praeferri onerarias naves ex speculis
4 significatum foret, parte lemborum ipse insequens,
parte per Cyclades disposita, praeterquam si quae
Macedoniam peterent, omnes aut supprimebat aut
spoliabat naves. Quibus poterat Popilius aut suis[4]
5 aut Eumenis navibus succurrebat; sed evecti[5] nocte
binis aut ternis plerumque lembis Macedones falle-
bant.

6 Per id fere tempus legati Macedones Illyriique
simul Rhodum venerunt, quibus auctoritatem addidit
non lemborum modo adventus passim per Cycladas
atque Aegaeum vagantium mare, sed etiam coniunc-
tio ipsa regum Persei Gentique et fama cum magno
numero peditum equitumque venientium Gallorum.
7 Et iam cum accessissent animi Dinoni[6] ac Polyarato,

[1] stetit *add. Fr*: *om. V.*
[2] regressis decem lembis *Madvig*: ingressis ex lembis *V.*
[3] in *Fr*: et in *V.*
[4] aut suis *add. Hertz*: *om. V.*
[5] evecti *Duker*: vecti *V.*
[6] animi Dinoni *J. F. Gronovius*: animinoni *V.*





to the fleet; he said he would await them at Phanae. B.C. 168 For about three days the fleet anchored before the city. Then they moved on to Phanae, and setting sail on the unexpectedly early arrival of the ten scout-ships, crossed the Aegean Sea to Delos.

XXIX. While these events were taking place, the Roman envoys,[1] Gaius Popilius, Gaius Decimius, and Gaius Hostilius, set out from Chalcis in three five-banked ships and on arriving at Delos found there forty Macedonian scout-ships and five five-bankers of King Eumenes. The holiness of the temple and the island kept them all from harm. And so the Roman, the Macedonian, and Eumenes' sailors mingled in the temple under the truce provided by the sacredness of the place. Whenever signals came from the lookouts that any freight-ships were passing out at sea, Antenor, Perseus' officer, would himself pursue with some ships, while others of his ships were distributed among the Cyclades, and either sank or plundered every ship not sailing for Macedonia. Popilius would come to the rescue with what ships he had either of his own or Eumenes'; but the Macedonians would evade him by sailing at night mostly in groups of two or three ships.

At about this same time, the envoys from Macedonia and Illyria arrived together at Rhodes, and weight was lent their words not only by the arrival of the scout-ships roaming all around the Cyclades and the Aegean Sea, but also by the very fact of the combination between the kings Perseus and Gentius, and the rumour of the arrival of the Gauls in great numbers both of infantry and cavalry. Since, then, the boldness of Dinon and Polyaratus, who sided with

[1] To Alexandria, cf. xix. 13.

A.U.C. 586

qui Persei partium erant, non benigne modo responsum regibus est, sed[1] palam pronuntiatum bello
8 finem se auctoritate sua impositures esse; itaque ipsi quoque reges aequos adhiberent animos ad pacem accipiendam.

XXX. Iam veris principium erat novique duces in provincias[2] venerant, consul Aemilius in Macedoniam, Octavius Oreum ad classem, Anicius in Illyricum, cui
2 bellandum adversus Gentium erat. Gentius[3] patre Pleurato, rege Illyriorum, et matre Eurydica genitus fratres duos, Platorem utroque parente, Caravantium
3 matre eadem natum, habuit. Hoc propter ignobilitatem paternam minus suspecto Platorem occidit et duos amicos eius, Ettritum et Epicadum, impigros
4 viros, quo tutius regnaret. Fama fuit Monuni,[4] Dardanorum principis, filiam Etutam[5] pacto fratri eum invidisse, tamquam his nuptiis adiungenti sibi Dardanorum gentem; et simillimum[6] id vero fecit
5 ducta ea virgo Platore interfecto. Gravis deinde dempto a[7] fratre metu popularibus esse coepit; et violentiam insitam ingenio intemperantia vini accen-
6 debat. Ceterum, sicut ante dictum est, ad Romanum incitatus bellum Lissum omnis copias contraxit.
7 Quindecim milia armatorum fuerunt. Inde fratre in

[1] sed *add. Fr*: *om. V.*
[2] provincias *Kreyssig*: provinciam *V.*
[3] erat. Gentius *add. Madvig*: *om. V.*
[4] Monuni *Zeitschr. f. Altertumswissensch. 1836 p. 833*: honuni *V.* [5] Etutam *Fr*: metutam *V.*
[6] simillimum *Kreyssig*: simillium *V.*
[7] a *add. Vahlen*: *om. V.*

[1] Livy is following Polybius XXIX. 11 (5). Polybius says that the loss of Eumenes' cavalry impressed the Rhodians, but does not mention the Gauls from the North; he does not make the Rhodians sound as cock-sure as does Livy.





Perseus, was on the increase, not only was a cordial B.C. 168
response given to the kings, but the flat statement was made that the Rhodians would by their influence bring an end to the war, and that therefore the kings themselves should make up their minds calmly to accept peace.[1]

XXX. By now spring was beginning[2] and the new commanders arrived in the field, the consul Aemilius in Macedonia, Octavius with the fleet at Oreüs, and in the region of Illyria, Anicius, whose task was the campaign against Gentius.[3] This king, the son of Pleuratus, king of the Illyrians, and Eurydice, had two brothers, Plator, a full brother, and Caravantius, born of the same mother. The latter Gentius suspected less because of the obscurity of his father, but the king killed Plator and two friends of his, Ettritus and Epicadus, energetic men, for the greater security of his reign. The rumour was that he envied his brother his betrothal to Etuta, daughter of Monunius the chieftain of the Dardani, since by this marriage Plator would secure the support of the Dardani; and Gentius made this really very probable by marrying the girl after the murder of Plator. Once the fear of his brother was removed, Gentius began to be oppressive to his people, and the violence innate in his character was inflamed by overuse of wine. However, when he had been stirred up to fight the Romans, as has been related above, he collected all his forces at Lissus. These were fifteen thousand men. From there he sent his brother with

[2] It was late April by the then Roman calendar, but actually early February, see below, xxxvii. 5–9.
[3] The characterization of Gentius is based on Polybius XXIX. 13 (5).

A.U.C. 586 Caviorum gentem vi aut terrore subigendam cum
mille peditibus et quinquaginta equitibus misso, ipse
ad Bassaniam urbem quinque milia ab Lisso ducit.
8 Socii erant Romanorum; itaque per praemissos [1]
nuntios prius temptati obsidionem pati quam dedere
9 sese maluerunt. Caravantium in Caviis Durnium
oppidum advenientem benigne accepit; Caravandis,
altera urbs, exclusit; et agros eorum cum [2] effuse
vastaret, aliquot palati milites agrestium concursu
10 interfecti sunt. Iam et Ap. Claudius adsumptis ad
eum exercitum quem habebat Bullinorum [3] et
Apolloniatium et Dyrrachinorum auxiliis profectus
ex hibernis circa Genusum [4] amnem castra habebat,
11 audito foedere inter Persea et Gentium et legatorum
violatorum iniuria accensus, bellum haud dubie
12 adversus eum gesturus. Anicius praetor eo tempore
Apolloniae auditis quae in Illyrico gererentur prae-
missisque ad Appium litteris, ut se ad Genusum
opperiretur, triduo et ipse in castra venit et ad ea
13 quae habebat auxilia a Parthinorum iuventute
adiunctis duobus [5] milibus peditum et equitibus
ducentis—peditibus Epicadus, equitibus Algalsus
praeerat—parabat ducere in Illyricum, maxime ut
Bassanitas solveret obsidione. Tenuit impetum eius
14 fama lemborum vastantium maritimam oram. Octo-
ginta erant lembi, auctore Pantaucho missi a Gentio

[1] praemissos *Kreyssig*: perremissos *V*.
[2] cum *add. Vahlen*: *om. V*.
[3] Bullinorum *Drakenborch*: bullaniorum *V*.
[4] Genusum *Turnebus*: genuussuum *V*.





a thousand infantry and fifty cavalry to subdue the tribe of the Cavii either by force or threats, while he himself advanced from Lissus five miles to the city of Bassania. The inhabitants were allied to the Romans; and so when overtures were made by messengers sent ahead of Gentius, they preferred to stand siege rather than to surrender. As Caravantius arrived among the Cavii, the town of Durnium received him hospitably; Caravandis, another city, shut him out; and while he was ravaging their territory far and wide, a few scattered soldiers were killed by the rallying farmers. By now Appius Claudius too had added auxiliaries of the Bullini and the citizens of Apollonia and Dyrrachium to the army he had with him, and had set out from winter quarters to a camp by the Genusus River, since he had heard of the treaty between Perseus and Gentius and was incensed by the mistreatment of the molested envoys, so that he was bent on campaigning against Gentius. About this time Anicius the praetor heard at Apollonia of affairs in the region of Illyria, and sending ahead orders to Appius to wait for him at the Genusus, he himself arrived in camp in three days. He added to the auxiliaries he had two thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry of the young men of the Parthini—Epicadus commanded the infantry, Algalsus the cavalry—and made ready to march into the region of Illyria, especially in order to relieve the siege of Bassania. His urgency was restrained by a rumour of scout-ships ravaging the coast. There were eighty of these ships, sent by Gentius at the suggestion of Pantauchus to plunder B.C. 168

[5] auxilia a Parthinorum iuventute adiunctis duobus *Madvig*: auxiliapar tinorumiuuentaduobus *V*.

A.U.C. 586

ad Dyrrachinorum et Apolloniatium agros populandos.
15 Tum classis ad . . . .[1] to eo tradiderunt se.

XXXI. Deinceps et urbes regionis eius idem faciebant, adiuvante inclinationem animorum clementia
2 in[2] omnis et iustitia praetoris Romani. Ad Scodram inde ventum est, quod[3] belli caput erat,[4] non eo solum quod Gentius eam sibi ceperat velut regni totius arcem sed etiam quod Labeatium gentis
3 munitissima longe est et difficilis aditu. Duo cingunt eam flumina, Clausal a latere[5] urbis quod in orientem patet praefluens, Barbanna ab regione occidentis, ex
4 Labeatide palude oriens. Hi duo amnes confluentes incidunt Oriundi flumini, quod ortum ex monte Scordo, multis et aliis auctum aquis, mari Hadriatico
5 infertur. Mons Scordus,[6] longe altissimus regionis eius, ab oriente Dardanicam[7] subiectam habet, a
6 meridie Macedoniam, ab occasu Illyricum. Quamquam munitum situ naturali oppidum erat gensque id tota Illyriorum et rex ipse tuebatur, tamen praetor Romanus, quia prima successerant prospere, fortunam totius rei principia secuturam esse ratus et repentinum valiturum terrorem, instructo exercitu
7 ad moenia succedit. Quod si clausis portis muros portarumque turris dispositi[8] armati defendissent,

[1] *Hic folium unum excidit.*
[2] in *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[3] quod *Kreyssig*: ad quod *V*.
[4] caput erat *Drakenborch*: capotuerat *V*.
[5] Clausal a latere *Madvig*: clausalalatere *V*.
[6] Scordus *Drakenborch*: scodra *et* scodrus *V*.
[7] Dardanicam *Heraeus*: dardaniam *V*.
[8] dispositi *Madvig*: disposita *V*.

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[1] Appian, *Illyrian Wars* ii. 9 says that Anicius "captured some of Gentius' scout-ships and then engaged him in battle on land, defeated him, and shut him up in a fortress."





the territory of Dyrrachium and Apollonia. Then a fleet at . . .[1] . . . they surrendered. B.C. 168

XXXI. Thereafter the cities of the region did the same, the turn of their thoughts being assisted by the mildness and justice of the Roman praetor. Next he arrived at Scodra, the centre of resistance not only because Gentius had appropriated it as the citadel for his whole kingdom, but also because it is the best-fortified town of the Labeate tribe, and is hard to approach. Two rivers surround it, the Clausal flowing by on the side of the city which faces eastward, the Barbanna on the west side, flowing from the Labeate Lake. (These two streams after joining fall into the Oriundes River[2] which rises on Mount Scordus, is swelled by many other streams, and falls into the Adriatic Sea. Mount Scordus, by far the highest of that region, overlooks Dardania to the eastward, Macedonia to the south, and the Illyrian region to the west.) Although the town was fortified by its surroundings and the whole nation of the Illyrians, as well as their king, was defending it, nevertheless the Roman praetor decided that since his first moves had met with success, good fortune in the campaign as a whole would follow these beginnings, and that a fast-moving threat would be efficacious; so he advanced to the wall with his army in formation. If well-placed forces had shut the gates and defended the walls and gate-towers, they

[2] This river is elsewhere called the Drilon (modern Drin); in 1858, after a period during which the Drilon emptied to the south, and the Barbanna followed its own course to the sea, the Drin, in flood, resumed the course reported by Livy, and was maintaining it, except for some water following the southern channel, about 1940 (see the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1944, *s.v.* Albania).

A.U.C. 586
vano cum incepto moenibus pepulissent Romanos;
8 nunc porta egressi proelium loco aequo maiore animo
9 commiserunt quam sustinuerunt. Pulsi enim et
fuga conglobati, cum ducenti amplius in ipsis faucibus
portae cecidissent, tantum intulerunt terrorem ut
oratores extemplo ad praetorem mitteret Gentius
Teuticum et Bellum, principes gentis, per quos
indutias peteret, ut deliberare de statu rerum
10 suarum posset. Triduo in hoc dato, cum castra
Romana quingentos ferme passus ab urbe abessent,
navem conscendit et flumine Barbanna navigat[1] in
lacum Labeatum, velut secretum locum petens ad
11 consultandum, sed, ut apparuit, falsa spe excitus
12 Caravantium fratrem multis milibus armatorum
coactis[2] ex ea regione in quam missus erat adventare.
Qui postquam evanuit rumor, tertio post die navem
eandem[3] secundo amni Scodram demisit; prae-
missisque nuntiis ut sibi appellandi praetoris potestas
13 fieret, copia facta in castra venit. Et principium
orationis ab accusatione stultitiae orsus suae, postremo
ad preces lacrimasque effusus, genibus praetoris
14 accidens in potestatem sese dedit. Primo bonum
animum habere iussus, ad cenam etiam invitatus in
urbem ad suos redit. Et cum praetore eo die honori-
15 fice est epulatus, deinde in custodiam C. Cassio

[1] Barbanna navigat *Kreyssig*: babanonauigant *V*.
[2] coactis *J. F. Gronovius*: actis *V*.
[3] eandem *Sigonius*: ad eam *V*.





B.C. 168

would have routed the Romans from the wall and made their attempt worthless; as it was, they sallied from the gate and on level ground joined battle with more spirit than they maintained. For they were routed and huddled in flight, while over two hundred fell in the very mouth of the gate, and they brought in with them such panic that Gentius at once sent representatives named Teuticus and Bellus, leading men of the nation, to the praetor to ask for a truce so that the king might deliberate over his situation. When he was given three days for this purpose, he boarded a ship, since the Roman camp was about half a mile from the city, and sailed up the Barbanna River to Lake Labeate, as if seeking a secluded spot for taking council; actually, as became evident, he was stirred by an unfounded hope that his brother Caravantius[1] would arrive with many thousands of soldiers gathered in the region to which he had been sent. After the talk about this had evaporated, on the third day he brought the same ship downstream to Scodra. First sending messengers to secure an opportunity for addressing the praetor and on being given the opportunity, he came into camp. At the outset of his speech he began by blaming his own stupidity, and at the end gave himself up to entreaties and a flood of tears, and falling at the praetor's knees, put himself into his hands. Immediately he was bidden to take heart, and after being invited to dinner, returned to his own people in the city. On that day he was banqueted with marks of distinction by the praetor, and then put under the guard of Gaius Cassius, tribune of the soldiers, after

[1] Possibly he had gone to a different region from that mentioned in the preceding chapter, and was among friends.

A.U.C. 586

tribuno militum[1] traditus, vix gladiatorio accepto, decem talentis, ab rege rex, ut in eam fortunam recideret.

XXXII. Anicius Scodra recepta nihil prius quam requisitos Petilium Perpennamque legatos ad se duci
2 iussit. Quibus splendore suo restituto Perpennam extemplo mittit ad conprehendendos amicos cog-
3 natosque regis; qui Meteonem, Labeatium gentis urbem, profectus Etlevam uxorem cum filiis duobus, Scerdilaedo[2] Pleuratoque, et Caravantium fratrem
4 Scodram in castra adduxit. Anicius bello Illyrico intra triginta dies perfecto nuntium victoriae Perpennam Romam misit et post dies paucos Gentium regem ipsum cum parente, coniuge ac liberis ac
5 fratre aliisque principibus Illyriorum. Hoc unum bellum prius perpetratum quam coeptum Romae auditum est.

Quibus diebus haec agebantur, Perseus quoque in magno terrore erat propter adventum simul Aemili novi consulis, quem cum ingentibus minis adventare
6 audiebat, simul Octavi praetoris. Nec minus terroris a classe Romana et periculo maritumae orae habebat. Thessalonicae Eumenes et Athenagoras praeerant cum parvo praesidio duorum milium caetratorum.
7 Eo et Androclen praefectum mittit iussum sub ipsis
8 navalibus castra habere. Aenean mille equites et Creon Antigonensis missi[3] ad tutandam maritumam

[1] militum *Fr.*: pl. *V.*
[2] Scerdilaedo *J. F. Gronovius*: cerdilio *V.*
[3] equites et Creon Antigonensis missi *Madvig*: equitescreantigonensismisit *V.*





having received a mere ten talents, hardly the fee of a gladiator, though he was a king dealing with a king, to induce him to sink to such misfortune. B.C. 168

XXXII. On taking over Scodra, Anicius' very first order was that the ambassadors Petilius and Perpenna should be searched out and brought to him. When they had been restored to a properly dignified state, he immediately sent Perpenna to arrest the friends and relatives of the king. Perpenna set out for Meteon, the city of the Labeate tribe, and brought to camp at Scodra Etleva,[1] the queen, with her two children, Scerdilaedus and Pleuratus, and Caravantius the king's brother. After completing the Illyrian campaign within thirty days, Anicius sent Perpenna to Rome as messenger of this victory, and a few days later sent on King Gentius himself with his mother, wife, children, and brother, as well as other leading Illyrians. This campaign was unique in that its conclusion was reported at Rome before its beginning.

During the time that this was going on, Perseus also was in great fear because of the arrival not only of Aemilius the new consul, who he heard had come on the scene bringing dire threats, but also of Octavius the praetor. The king was feeling equally keenly the threat from the Roman fleet and the danger to the coastal area. At Thessalonica, Eumenes and Athenagoras were in command with a small garrison of two thousand light infantry.[2] To that place Perseus sent the officer Androcles also, under orders to encamp right by the dockyards. To Aenea a thousand cavalry under Creon of Antigonea were sent to

[1] We cannot determine whether this is another queen, or whether the name Etuta in xxx. 4 refers to the same woman.
[2] Cf. XLII. li. 4 and the note.

A.U.C. 586 oram, ut quocumque litore adplicuisse naves hostium
9 audissent extemplo ferrent agrestibus opem. Quinque milia[1] Macedonum missa ad praesidium Pythoi et Petrae, quibus praepositi erant Histiaeus et
10 Theogenes et Midon. His profectis ripam munire Elpei fluminis adgressus est, quia sicco alveo transiri
11 poterat. Huic rei[2] ut omnis multitudo vacaret, feminae ex propinquis urbibus coactae cibaria in castra adferebant; miles iussus ex propinquis silvis benigne . . . .

XXXIII. . . . .[3] conferre, postremo sequi se utrarios ad mare, quod minus trecentos passus aberat, iussit et in litore alios alibi modicis intervallis fodere.
2 Montes ingentis altitudinis spem faciebant, eo magis quia nullos apertos emergerent[4] rivos, occultos contineri[5] latices, quorum venae in mare permanantes
3 undae miscerentur. Vix diducta[6] summa harena erat, cum scaturigines[7] turbidae primo et tenues emicare, dein liquidam multamque fundere aquam
4 velut deum dono coeperunt. Aliquantum ea quoque res duci famae et auctoritatis apud milites adicit. Iussis deinde militibus expedire arma ipse cum tribunis primisque ordinibus ad contemplandos transitus

[1] quinque milia *Fr.*: u *V.*
[2] rei *add. Harant*: *om. V.*
[3] *Hic duo folia exciderunt.*
[4] emergerent *Georges*: euergentt *V.*
[5] contineri *Duker*: continere *V.*
[6] diducta *Drakenborch*: deducta *V.*
[7] scaturigines *ed. Bas. 1535*: scaturiges *V*

[1] These places guarded a pass north of Mount Olympus by which the position at the Elpeüs might have been taken in the rear.





protect the coastal area, in order to come at once to the aid of the country folk at any point on the shore where they heard that enemy ships had put in. Five thousand Macedonians were sent to garrison Pythoüs and Petra,[1] the commanders being Histiaeus, Theogenes, and Midon. When these forces had left, Perseus set himself to fortifying the bank of the Elpeüs, because its dry bed could be crossed. In order that his entire force might be free for this operation, women gathered from the near-by cities brought foodstuffs into camp; the soldiers, under orders, from the woods near by generously . . .[2] B.C. 168

XXXIII. . . . to gather, and finally he ordered the water-carriers to follow him to the sea, which was less than three-tenths of a mile away, and to dig wells on the beach, some here, some there, at slight intervals. The immense height of the mountains,[3] especially inasmuch as they produced no visible rivers, gave him the hope that underneath were hidden streams, the veins of which trickled through to the sea and mingled with the salt water. Hardly had the uppermost sand been penetrated when jets of water spurted out, at first muddy and slight, but then proceeding to pour out, as if by a miracle, with clear and copious water. This success too gave the commander no little glory and power of leadership with the soldiers. Then when the soldiers were ordered to put their weapons in condition, the consul with the tribunes and ranking centurions went forward to reconnoitre the crossings, in order to find out where

[2] Further preparations of Perseus and the arrival of Paulus at the Roman camp were described in this gap.
[3] Plutarch, *Aemilius* xiv. 1, says that the green woods on the slopes indicated abundant ground-water.

A.U.C. 586 processit, qua[1] descensus facilis armatis, qua in
ulteriorem ripam minime iniquus ascensus esset.
5 His satis exploratis alia quoque novavit,[2] primum, ut
ordine ac sine tumultu omnia in agmine ad nutum
6 imperiumque ducis fierent, providit: ubi omnibus
simul pronuntiaretur quid fieret neque omnes
exaudirent, incerto imperio accepto alios ab se
adicientes plus eo quod imperatum sit alios minus
facere; clamores deinde dissonos oriri omnibus locis,
7 et prius hostes quam ipsos quid paretur scire. Placere
igitur tribunum militum primo pilo legionis secretum
edere imperium, illum et dein singulos proximo cuique
in ordine centurioni dicere quod opus facto sit sive a
primis signis ad novissimum agmen, sive ab extremis
8 ad primos perferendum imperium sit. Vigiles etiam
novo more scutum in vigiliam ferre vetuit: non enim
in pugnam vigilem ire ut armis utatur sed ad vigilan-
dum ut, cum senserit hostium adventum, recipiat se
9 excitetque ad arma alios. Scuto prae se erecto stare
galeatos; deinde ubi fessi sint, innixos pilo, capite
super marginem scuti posito, sopitos stare, ut ful-
gentibus armis procul conspici ab hoste possint, ipsi
10 nihil provideant.[3] Stationum quoque morem muta-
vit. Armati omnes, et frenatis equis equites, diem
totum perstabant; id cum aestivis diebus urente

[1] processit, qua *add. Madvig*: *om. V.*
[2] alia quoque novavit *Madvig*: illa quoque *V.*
[3] possint, ipsi nihil provideant *J. F. Gronovius*: possit ipse nihil provideat *V.*

[1] Centurions ranked according to their place in the formation of the legion, cf. e.g. XLII. xxxiv. 5–8.
[2] Plutarch, *Aemilius* xiii. 5, says a spear.





the way down was easy for men under arms and where B.C. 168 on the farther bank there was the least unfavourable way up. After gathering sufficient information on these points, he introduced other changes, too; in the first place, he saw to it that everything in the column should take place in good order and without confusion at the beck and call of the commander; when orders were given to the whole army at once and not all were within hearing, he said, some, after receiving an unclear order, made additions of their own and did more than was bidden, while others did less; hence discordant outcries arose everywhere and the enemy found out what was afoot sooner than one's own men. Therefore the consul decided that the tribune of the soldiers should first give an order privately to the chief centurion of the legion, and he and his subordinates in rank should then each tell to the next in rank[1] what was to be done, whether the order was to be passed from the head of the column to the rear, or from the last to the first. The consul also made the innovation of forbidding sentries to carry a shield[2] on post; for he said that a sentry is not going into combat to use his weapons, but is to keep on guard so that when he perceives the approach of the enemy, he may retire and rouse the others to arms. Men set the shield before them and stand there, helmet on head; then when they are tired, they lean on the spear, rest the head on the shield-rim, and stand there drowsing, so that with their shining armour they can be detected by the enemy from afar, while they themselves do not see ahead at all. The consul also changed the practice of the outposts. All were used to spending the entire day under arms, cavalry with their horses bridled; when this took

A.U.C. 586 adsiduo sole fieret, tot horarum aestu et languore ipsos equosque fessos integri saepe adorti hostes vel
11 pauci plures vexabant. Itaque ex matutina[1] statione ad meridiem decedi et in postmeridianam succedere alios iussit; ita numquam fatigatos recens hostis adgredi poterat.

XXXIV. Haec cum ita fieri placere contione advocata pronuntiasset, adiecit urbanae contioni convenientem orationem:

2 Unum imperatorem in exercitu providere et consulere quid agendum sit debere, nunc per se, nunc cum iis quos advocaverit in consilium; qui non sint advocati, eos nec palam nec secreto iactare consilia
3 sua. Militem haec tria curare debere, corpus ut quam validissimum et pernicissimum habeat, arma
4 apta, cibum paratum ad subita imperia; cetera scire de se dis immortalibus et imperatori suo curae esse. In quo exercitu milites consultent, imperator rumori-
5 bus vulgi circumagatur, ibi nihil salutare esse. Se quod sit officium imperatoris provisurum ut bene gerendae rei occasionem iis praebat: illos nihil quid[2] futurum sit quaerere, ubi datum signum sit, tum militarem navare operam debere.[3]

6 Ab his praeceptis contionem dimisit, volgo etiam veteranis fatentibus se illo primum die, tamquam tirones, quid agendum esset in re militari didicisse.

[1] matutina *Fr.*: stativa *V.*
[2] quid *Fr.*: quod id *V.*
[3] operam debere *add. Madvig*: *om. V.*





place on summer days under an unremitting and B.C. 168 burning sun, after so many hours of heat and weariness the tired men and horses were often attacked by fresh enemy troops and superior numbers thrown into confusion by even a few. So he gave orders that men on duty in the morning should be relieved at noon by a different afternoon detail; in this way a fresh enemy could never attack tired men.

XXXIV. After he had announced to an assembly of the soldiers the decision to adopt these measures, the consul added a speech in the vein of his address in Rome:

"There should be a single general in an army who foresees and plans what should be done, sometimes by himself, sometimes with the advisers he calls into council. Those who are not called into council should not air their own views publicly or privately. A soldier should concern himself with the following: his body, to keep it as strong and as nimble as possible; the good condition of his weapons; and the readiness of his food-supply for unexpected orders. For the rest, he should realize that the immortal gods and his general are taking care of him. In an army in which the soldiers deliberate and the general is led about by the gossip of the rank and file, conditions are utterly unsound. For my part, I shall do the duty of a general—that is, see to it that you have an opportunity for successful action. You ought not to ask what is going to happen, but when the signal is given, then do your duty as soldiers."

After these instructions, he dismissed the assembly, while throughout the army even the veterans admitted that they, like raw recruits, had for the first time learned how military matters should be handled.

A.U.C. 586
7 Non sermonibus tantum his cum quanto adsensu
audissent verba consulis ostenderunt, sed rerum
8 praesens effectus erat. Neminem totis mox castris
quietum videres: acuere alii gladios, alii galeas
bucculasque, scuta alii loricasque [1] tergere, alii
aptare corpori arma experirique sub his membrorum
agilitatem, quatere alii pila, alii micare gladiis
9 mucronemque intueri, ut facile quis cerneret, ubi
primum conserendi manum cum hoste data occasio
esset, aut victoria egregia aut morte memorabili
finituros [2] bellum.

10 Perseus quoque, cum adventu consulis simul et veris
principio strepere omnia moverique apud hostes
velut novo bello cerneret, mota a Phila castra in
adversa ripa posita, nunc ad contemplanda opera sua
circumire ducem haud dubie transitus speculantem,
nunc [3] . . . . Romanorum [4] esse.

XXXV. Quae res Romanis auxit animos. Mace-
donibus regique eorum haud mediocrem attulit
2 terrorem. Et primo supprimere in occulto famam
eius rei est conatus, missis, qui Pantauchum inde
3 venientem adpropinquare castris vetarent. Sed iam
et pueri quidam visi ab suis erant inter obsides Illyrios

[1] bucculasque, scuta alii loricasque *ed. Bas. 1535*: bucoolasque scutorū alii loricas *V*.

[2] memorabili finituros *Muretus*: memorabilis inituros *V*.

[3] speculantem, nunc *H. J. Müller*: speculan *V*. *Hic excidit folium unum.*

[4] Romanorum *Sigonius*: norum *V*.

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[1] The Romans relied chiefly on the thrust, cf. Vegetius I. 12.

[2] According to Plutarch, *Aemilius* xv, a period of startling inactivity on both sides ensued. The words with which the





Not only did they show by such remarks with how much approval they had heard the words of the consul, but there was also an immediate response in action. Soon you could have seen no one idle in the whole camp; some were sharpening swords, others were polishing helmets and cheek-pieces, still others shields and coats of mail; some were fitting their armour to their bodies and trying the nimbleness of their bodies under arms, others were brandishing spears, others fencing with their swords and inspecting the point [1]; so that anyone could easily see that as soon as an opportunity of joining battle with the enemy had been given, they would put an end to the war either by a glorious victory or by a death that would go down in history. B.C. 168

When Perseus, too, noticed that on the arrival of the consul and the beginning of spring everything in the enemy camp was full of noise and bustle as if the war were just beginning, that the camp had been shifted from Phila to the bank opposite the Macedonians, and the hostile commander was now going about to view Perseus' defences, no doubt because he was reconnoitring a passage, now . . .[2] . . . of the Romans was.

XXXV. This affair raised the spirits of the Romans. It also brought no little panic to the Macedonians and their king. At first he tried to hide the report of the event in secret, by sending men to forbid Pantauchus, who was coming from there, to approach the camp. But now some boys were seen by their relatives being led along with the Illyrian hostages

text resumes may conclude an account of how the news of Gentius' defeat arrived in the two camps.

A.U.C. 586

ducti, et quo quaeque accuratius celantur,[1] eo
facilius loquacitate regiorum ministrorum emanant.
4 Sub idem tempus Rhodii legati in castra venerunt
cum isdem de pace mandatis, quae Romae ingentem
iram patrum excitaverant.[2] Multo iniquioribus ani-
5 mis a castrensi consilio auditi sunt. Itaque cum alii
legatos in vincula coniciendos censerent,[3] alii prae-
cipites sine responso agendos e castris,[4] pronuntiavit
consul [5] post diem quintum decimum se responsum
6 daturum. Interim, ut appareret quantum pacifi-
cantium Rhodiorum auctoritas valuisset, consultare
de ratione belli gerendi coepit. Placebat quibus-
dam et maxime minoribus [6] natu per Elpei ripam
7 munitionesque vim facere: confertis et uno agmine
impetum [7] facientibus resistere Macedonas non posse,
ex tot castellis aliquanto altioribus ac munitioribus,
quae validis praesidiis insedissent, priore anno de-
8 iectos. Aliis placebat Octavium cum classe Thessa-
lonicam petere et populatione maritumae orae
distringere copias regias, ut altero ab tergo se osten-
dente bello circumactus ad interiorem partem regni
tuendam nudare aliqua parte transitus Elpei cogere-
tur. Ipsi natura et operibus inexsuperabilis ripa
9 videbatur, et praeterquam quod tormenta ubique
disposita essent, missilibus etiam melius et certiore

[1] celantur *J. F. Gronovius*: curatur *V.*
[2] excitaverant *Novák*: excitare *V.*
[3] alii legatos in vincula coniciendos censerent *add. Vahlen*: *om. V.* [4] agendos e castris *Harant*: agē dos icastris *V.*
[5] consul *add. Vahlen*: *om. V.*
[6] minoribus *Crévier*: maioribus *V.*
[7] agmine impetum *add. Vahlen*: *om. V.*





B.C. 168

and the more carefully the various details were concealed, the more easily they leaked out through the garrulity of the king's servants.

About the same time envoys from Rhodes came into camp with the same message about peace which had aroused great wrath in the senators at Rome. They received a much less favourable audience from the council in the camp. So while some advised that the envoys be thrown into chains, others that they be driven headlong out of camp without an answer, the consul announced that he would make a reply a fortnight later. Meanwhile, to make it clear how much influence the Rhodian peace-makers had succeeded in exerting, he began to hold consultations as to the plan of campaign. Some, especially the younger, wished to force a way through the bank of the Elpeüs and the fortifications; a solid formation, they said, attacking in single column would be irresistible to the Macedonians, who had the previous year been driven out of so many forts,[1] rather higher and better fortified and held with strong garrisons. Others advised that Octavius with his fleet should make for Thessalonica and by ravaging the coastal area create a diversion of the king's forces, so that on the appearance of another attack in his rear the king would be pulled about to guard the inner part of his kingdom and be compelled to open a crossing somewhere over the Elpeüs. The consul himself regarded the river-bank as impregnable by nature and by fortification and, besides the fact that artillery had been placed everywhere, he had heard that the enemy employed

[1] This is contrary to the picture given by Livy above, chs. iv–vii, and seems to be inserted to show that the speakers estimated the situation incorrectly.

A.U.C. 586

10 ictu hostis uti audierat. Alio spectabat mens tota
ducis; dimissoque consilio Perrhaebos mercatores
Coenum et Menophilum, notae iam sibi et fidei et [1]
prudentiae homines, accersitos secreto percunctatur,
11 quales ad Perrhaebiam transitus sint. Cum loca
non iniqua esse dicerent, praesidiis autem regiis [2]
obsideri, spem cepit, si nocte improviso valida manu
adgressus necopinantis esset, deici praesidia posse:
12 iacula enim et sagittas et cetera missilia in tenebris,
ubi quid petatur procul provideri nequeat, inutilia
esse; gladio comminus geri rem in permixta turba,
13 quo miles Romanus vincat. His ducibus usurus
praetorem Octavium accersitum, exposito quid
pararet Heracleum [3] cum classe petere iubet et mille
hominibus decem dierum cocta [4] cibaria habere.
14 Ipse P. Scipionem Nasicam, Q. Fabium Maximum
filium suum cum quinque milibus [5] delectis militum
Heracleum mittit, velut classem conscensuros ad
maritumam oram interioris Macedoniae, quod in
15 consilio agitatum erat, vastandam. Secreto indi-

[1] notae iam sibi et fidei et *Kreyssig*: notae et fidei iam sibi et *V*.
[2] regiis *Crévier*: regis *V*.
[3] Heracleum *J. F. Gronovius*: heraclium *V*.
[4] cocta *Fr.*: cognita *V*.
[5] milibus *add. Hertz*: *om. V*.

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[1] Plutarch, *Aemilius* xv and xvi. 1, says that the passes were not guarded at this time, but that Perseus sent a force after hearing that Romans, under Nasica, were on the march to Pythium. Plutarch cites Polybius and Nasica himself for the story of the dislodging of the Macedonians.

[2] As explained by Plutarch, *Aemilius* xv, this was the elder of Aemilius' sons by his first wife; the younger became Scipio Africanus the Younger, cf. below, xliv. 1–2. After divorcing his wife, remarrying, and having two more sons





missile weapons better and with more deadly aim. B.C. 168
The whole thought of the Roman commander inclined in a different direction; and dismissing his council, he summoned the Perrhaebian merchants Coenus and Menophilus, men already known to him for loyalty and wisdom, and secretly inquired what the passes into Perrhaebia were like. When they said that the terrain was not difficult, but was blocked by the king's guard-forces,[1] the consul conceived the hope that the guards could be dislodged if he attacked suddenly by night with a strong force and surprised them; for, he argued, javelins, arrows, and other missiles are useless in the dark when the target cannot be sighted at a distance; the sword is the weapon used at close quarters in a confused throng, and with that weapon the Roman soldier would win. Planning to use the above-mentioned merchants as guides, the consul summoned the praetor Octavius, explained his plans, and ordered him to sail for Heracleum with the fleet and have ten days' cooked rations for a thousand men. For his own part, he sent Publius Scipio Nasica and his own son Quintus Fabius Maximus [2] with five thousand picked men [3] to Heracleum, in order to feign an embarkation for the purpose of the plan mentioned in the council, namely, of ravaging the coastal area of inner Macedonia. Scipio and Fabius were privately

(for whom see below, XLV. xl. 7), Aemilius gave the older pair in adoption. Fabius was about eighteen at this time; his adoption had taken place about ten years before.

[3] Plutarch, following Nasica and correcting Polybius, lists three thousand Italians ("special troops"—ἐκτὸς τάξεως = *extraordinarii* ?), five thousand of the "left wing" (= *sinistra ala*, *i.e.* cavalry ?), 120 cavalry, and 200 mixed Thracians and Cretans.

A.U.C. 586 catum cibaria his praeparata ad classem esse, ne quid
eos moraretur. Inde iussi duces itineris ita dividere
viam, ut quarta vigilia tertio die Pythoum adoriri
16 possent. Ipse postero die, ut detineret regem ab
circumspectu rerum aliarum, prima luce medio in
alveo cum stationibus hostium proelium commisit;
pugnatumque utrimque est levi armatura. Nec
gravioribus armis in tam inaequali alveo pugnari
17 poterat. Descensus ripae utriusque in alveum
trecentorum ferme passuum erat; medium spatium
torrentis alibi aliter cavati paulo plus quam mille
18 passus patebat. Ibi in medio spectantibus utrimque
ex vallo castrorum hinc rege,[1] hinc consule cum suis
19 legionibus pugnatum est. Missilibus procul regia
auxilia melius pugnabant; comminus stabilior et
tutior aut parma aut scuto Ligustico Romanus erat.
20 Meridie fere receptui cani suis consul iussit. Ita eo
die diremptum proelium est haud paucis utrimque
21 interfectis. Sole orto postero die irritatis certamine
animis etiam acrius concursum est. Sed Romani non
ab iis[2] tantum, cum quibus contractum certamen
erat, sed multo magis ab ea multitudine quae disposita
in turribus stabat omni genere missilium telorum ac
22 saxis maxime volnerabantur. Ubi propius ripam
hostium subissent, tormentis missa etiam ad ultimos
perveniebant. Multo pluribus eo die[3] amissis
23 consul paulo serius recepit suos. Tertio die proelio

[1] hinc rege *add. Fr.*: *om. V.*
[2] iis *Kreyssig*: his *V.*
[3] pluribus eo die *Fr.*: plurimos eo dicto *V.*

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[1] This is based on Polybius XXIX. 14. 4; the Ligurian shield was long and light, according to Diodorus V. 39. 7.





informed that food was ready for them at the fleet, B.C. 168 so that they would not be delayed. Next, the guides were instructed to arrange the stages of the journey so that they could attack Pythoüs in the fourth watch of the third day. Next day at dawn the consul himself, in order to keep the king from investigating the other projects, joined battle with the enemy's outposts in the middle of the river-bed. The fight was conducted with light-armed troops on both sides. It was impossible to fight with heavier troops in so rough a stream-bed. The slope of either bank to the bottom was about three hundred paces; between the banks, a space of a little over a mile lay open where the torrent had hollowed it out in varying degrees from place to place. There the fight took place in sight of the watchers from the walls of both camps, the king on one side, the consul and his legions on the other. The king's light troops fought better at long range with missiles; at close quarters the Romans were steadier, and better protected by either the cavalry targe or the Ligurian rectangular shield.[1] About noon the consul ordered the recall to be sounded for his men. So that day the fight was broken off with no small losses to both sides. At sunrise the next day an even sharper fight took place, since their spirits had been roused by the combat. But the Romans received a great many wounds not only from those with whom the fight had been joined, but much more from the large numbers posted on the towers with all sorts of missile weapons and stones. As they came nearer to the enemy's bank, the shots from the engines reached even the rear ranks. After far more severe losses that day, the consul recalled his men somewhat later. On the

A.U.C. 586

abstinuit, degressus[1] ad imam partem castrorum, veluti per devexum in mare bracchium transitum
24 temptaturus. Perseus, quod in oculis erat . . . .

XXXVI. Tempus[2] anni post circumactum solstitium erat; hora diei iam ad meridiem vergebat; iter multo pulvere et incalescente sole factum erat.
2 Lassitudo et sitis iam sentiebatur et meridiem aestum magis accensurum cum mox appareret,[3] statuit sic adfectos recenti atque integro hosti non
3 obicere; sed tantus ardor in animis ad dimicandum utcumque erat, ut consuli non minore arte ad suos
4 eludendos quam ad hostes opus esset. Nondum omnibus instructis instabat tribunis militum, ut maturarent instruere; circumibat ipse ordines; ani-
5 mos militum hortando in pugnam accendebat. Ibi primo alacres signum poscebant; deinde, quantum incresceret aestus,[4] et voltus minus vigentes et voces segniores erant, et quidam incumbentes scutis nixique
6 pilis stabant. Tum iam aperte primis ordinibus imperat, metarentur frontem castrorum et impedi-
7 menta constituerent. Quod ubi fieri milites sensere, alii gaudere palam quod fessos viae labore flagrantis-
8 simo aestu non coegisset pugnare; legati circa

[1] degressus *J. F. Gronovius*: digressus *V*.
[2] *Exciderunt iv folia*; tempus *add. Sigonius*: *om. V*.
[3] et meridiem aestum magis accensurum cum mox appareret *Gitlbauer*: et meridie aestatemagis accesserunt tum mox adparebat *V*.
[4] increseceret aestus *ed. Bas. 1535*: increscere aestaset *V*.

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[1] Judging from Plutarch, *Aemilius* xvi, the lost four sheets told of the success of Nasica in clearing the pass, Perseus' fright and retreat, and his subsequent resolve to make a stand at Pydna; also of the joining of Nasica with Paulus and the overtaking of the Macedonians.





third day, he desisted from battle and went down to B.C. 168
the lower side of the camp as if he were going to attempt the crossing through the spur of the fortifications which ran down to the sea. What was before Perseus' eyes . . .[1]

XXXVI. The season was that immediately following the turn of midsummer[2]; the time of day was approaching noon; the journey had been made through much dust and an ever-hotter sun. Weariness and thirst now began to make themselves felt, and since it was presently obvious that midday would intensify the blazing heat, the consul decided not to expose men so weakened to a fresh and unwearied enemy; but such zeal was in their hearts for fighting at all costs that the consul needed as much skill to outmanoeuvre his own men as the enemy. Since all were not yet in formation, he urged on the tribunes of the soldiers to hasten the deployment; he himself went about the ranks and was engaged in rousing the spirits of the men to battle by exhortation. At this they first kept eagerly calling for the signal; then, in proportion as the heat increased their countenances were less lively and their cries slacker, and some stood lolling on their shields and leaning on their spears. Then the consul proceeded openly to give the order to the ranking centurions to lay out the front of the camp and place the baggage.[3] When the soldiers perceived that this was being done, some rejoiced openly that he had not compelled men wearied by the toil of marching to fight a battle in scorching heat. Surrounding the general were his

[2] See below, xxxvii. 5–8 and note 1; by the then calendar, it was Sept. 3.
[3] Which was placed next the wall of the camp.

A.U.C. 586 imperatorem ducesque externi erant, inter quos et Attalus, omnes approbantes, dum pugnaturum consulem credebant—neque enim ne his quidem[1]
9 cunctationem aperuerat suam—; tunc mutatione consilii subita cum alii silerent, Nasica unus ex omnibus ausus est monere consulem ne hostem ludificatum[2] priores imperatores fugiendo certamen mani-
10 bus emitteret[3]: vereri ne, si[4] nocte abeat, sequendus maximo labore ac periculo in intima Macedoniae sit, aestasque,[5] sicut prioribus ducibus, per calles saltusque Macedonicorum montium vagando circumagatur.
11 Se magnopere suadere, dum in campo patenti hostem habeat, adgrediatur, nec oblatam occasionem vincendi
12 amittat. Consul nihil offensus libera admonitione tam clari adulescentis:

"Et ego" inquit "animum istum habui, Nasica, quem tu nunc habes, et quem ego nunc habeo, tu
13 habebis. Multis belli casibus didici, quando pugnandum, quando abstinendum pugna sit. Non operae sit stanti nunc in acie docere, quibus de causis hodie quiesse melius sit. Rationes alias reposcito; nunc auctoritate veteris imperatoris contentus eris."

14 Conticuit adulescens: haud dubie videre aliqua impedimenta pugnae consulem, quae sibi non apparerent.

XXXVII. Paulus postquam metata castra impedimentaque conlocata animadvertit, ex postrema acie

[1] quidem *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om. V.*
[2] ne hostem ludificatum *Crévier*: ne hostem quidem ludificatus *V.*
[3] emitteret *J. F. Gronovius*: emittere *V.*
[4] si *add. Kreyssig*: *om. V.*
[5] aestasque *Madvig*: aesosque *V.*

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[1] As far as Livy's account goes, this applies only to Marcius, above, vi–x.





staff and the foreign commanders, among whom was Attalus, all showing approval as long as they believed the consul was going to fight (for he had not revealed his doubts even to them); then at the sudden change of plan they were all silent except Nasica, who alone dared to advise the consul not to loose his grasp on an enemy who had baffled previous generals by avoiding an encounter. Nasica feared that if the enemy departed by night, he would have to be pursued with the greatest toil and risk into the interior of Macedonia, and that the summer would be wasted, as under previous leaders,[1] in roaming about the bypaths and passes of the Macedonian mountains; for his own part he strongly urged attack while the consul had the enemy in open country, so as not to lose the opportunity for victory which had been offered. The consul, nothing offended by the outspoken warning from so famous a young man, replied: B.C. 168

"I too have had the spirit which you now have, Nasica, and you will come to have the spirit I now have. From many vicissitudes of war I have learned when to fight and when to refuse battle. There is not time to instruct you while you are standing-to for battle as to the reasons why it is better to be inactive today. You shall ask for my reasoning at another time; now you will be satisfied to take the word of an experienced general."

The young man held his tongue, thinking that no doubt the consul saw some obstacles to battle which he himself did not envisage.

XXXVII. After Paulus saw that the camp had been laid out and the baggage placed, he quietly withdrew the rear formation first from behind the

A.U.C. 586

2 triarios primos subducit, deinde principes, stantibus in prima acie hastatis, si quid hostis moveret, postremo hastatos, ab dextro primum cornu singulorum paula-
3 tim signorum milites subtrahens. Ita pedites equitibus cum levi armatura ante aciem hosti oppositis sine tumultu abducti, nec ante quam prima frons valli ac fossa perducta est, ex statione equites revocati sunt.
4 Rex quoque, cum sine detractatione paratus pugnare eo die fuisset, contentus eo quod[1] per hostem moram fuisse scirent, et ipse in castra copias reduxit.
5 Castris permunitis C. Sulpicius Gallus, tribunus militum secundae legionis, qui praetor superiore anno fuerat, consulis permissu ad contionem militibus voca-
6 tis pronuntiavit, nocte proxima, ne quis id pro portento acciperet, ab hora secunda usque ad quartam horam noctis lunam defecturam esse. Id quia naturali ordine statis temporibus fiat, et sciri ante et praedici
7 posse. Itaque quem ad modum, quia certi solis lunaeque et ortus et occasus sint, nunc pleno orbe, nunc senescentem[2] exiguo cornu fulgere[3] lunam non mirarentur, ita ne obscurari quidem, cum condatur

[1] eo quod *Hertz*: equod *V*.
[2] senescentem *Florebellus*: senescente *V*.
[3] fulgere *ed. Bas. 1535*: fugere *V*.

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[1] He is mentioned by Cicero, *De Senectute* xiv. 49 as a geometer and astronomer. For his praetorship, see XLIII. ii. 5. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* II. xii. 53, Frontinus I. xii. 8, and Zonaras 9. 23 speak of a prediction by Sulpicius; Justinus 33. 1. 7, Cicero, *De Republica* I. xv. 23, Valerius Maximus 8. 11. 1, and Plutarch, *Aemilius* xvii say that the explanation followed the eclipse. A fragment of Polybius XXIX. 16 (6) states that the eclipse was interpreted as portending the fall of a king; therefore it cheered the Romans and discouraged the Macedonians, see below, sec. 9. Modern reckoning sets the





battle-line, next the chief formation, while the forward B.C. 168
formation stood its ground at the front of the battle-line, in case the enemy should make a move; last of all he withdrew the forward formation, taking the soldiers of one maniple at a time, starting with the right wing. In this way, while the cavalry and the light-armed troops faced the enemy from in front of the battle-line, the infantry were withdrawn without confusion, and the cavalry were not called away from their posts until the façade of the rampart and the ditch facing the enemy had been completed. Although the king would have been prepared to fight that day without reluctance, he was satisfied to let it be seen that the delay was due to the enemy, and he too withdrew his forces into camp.

After the fortification of the camp was complete, Gaius Sulpicius Gallus,[1] tribune of the soldiers with the second legion, who had been praetor the year before, summoned the soldiers to an assembly, by permission of the consul, and announced that no one should regard it as a bad omen when on the following night an eclipse of the moon would take place from the second to the fourth hour of the night. Since this occurred in the regular order of nature at certain times, said Sulpicius, it could be calculated ahead of time and foretold. Therefore just as they were not surprised—inasmuch as both the risings and the settings of the sun and moon are well understood—when they saw the moon shining now full, now during its wane with a narrow arc, no more ought they to count it a prodigy that the moon is darkened

date of the eclipse as June 21, which would mean that the calendar was at least 70 days ahead of time, cf. p. 87, Appendix.

A.U.C. 586

8 umbra terrae, trahere in prodigium debere. Nocte quam pridie nonas Septembres insecuta est dies, edita hora luna cum defecisset, Romanis militibus Galli
9 sapientia prope divina videri; Macedonas ut triste prodigium, occasum regni perniciemque gentis portendens, movit nec aliter vates. Clamor ululatusque in castris Macedonum fuit, donec luna in suam lucem emersit.

10 Postero die—tantus utrique ardor exercitui ad concurrendum fuerat, ut et regem et consulem suorum quidam, quod sine proelio discessum esset, accusarent
11 —regi prompta defensio erat, non eo solum quod hostis prior aperte pugnam detractans in castra copias reduxisset, sed etiam quod eo loco signa constituisset, quo phalanx, quam inutilem vel mediocris iniquitas
12 loci efficeret, promoveri non posset. Consul ad id quod pridie praetermisisse pugnandi occasionem videbatur et locum dedisse hosti, si nocte abire vellet, tunc quoque per speciem immolandi terere videbatur tempus, cum luce prima ad signum propositum pugnae
13 exeundum[1] in aciem fuisset. Tertia demum hora sacrificio rite perpetrato ad consilium vocavit; atque ibi quod rei gerendae tempus esset loquendo et intempestive consultando videbatur quibusdam extrahere. Adversus eos sermones talem[2] consul orationem habuit.

XXXVIII. "P. Nasica, egregius adulescens, ex

[1] exeundum *Vahlen*: ad exeundum *V*.
[2] adversus eos sermones talem *Madvig*: sermones tamen *V*.

[1] Plutarch, *Aemilius* xvii. 6, says that the consul's sacrifice to Heracles obtained good omens only with the twenty-first





whenever it is hidden in the shadow of the earth. B.C. 168
On the night preceding the 4th of September, when the moon was eclipsed at the predicted hour, the Roman soldiers regarded the wisdom of Gallus as almost divine; the Macedonians took it as a dire portent, foretelling the downfall of the kingdom and the nation, and no soothsayer shook their conviction. There was uproar and wailing in the Macedonian camp until the moon emerged to shine as usual.

On the following day, so great was the eagerness of both armies for battle that some of their followers blamed both the king and the consul for separating without a fight. The king had a rejoinder ready at hand: not only that the enemy had taken the lead in openly declining battle and leading his men back to camp, but that he had posted his forces in a position to which the phalanx could not be advanced, since even slightly unfavourable terrain makes a phalanx useless. As for the consul, besides his seeming loss of an opportunity for battle on the previous day and his giving the enemy a chance of withdrawing by night if they wished, he seemed on this day too to be wasting time on the pretext of offering sacrifice, although he should have given the signal at dawn and gone out to battle.[1] At the third hour, after due completion of the sacrifice, he at last called a council, and in doing so seemed to some to be expending in talk and untimely advisement the time needed for carrying out action. In reply to such talk the consul delivered the following speech:

XXXVIII. "That excellent young man, Publius

victim; also that the consul waited till the afternoon so that the sun would not be in the eyes of his troops.

A.U.C. 586
omnibus [1] unus, quibus hesterno die pugnari placuit,
denudavit mihi suum consilium; idem postea, ita ut
transisse in sententiam meam videri posset, tacuit.
2 Quibusdam aliis absentem carpere imperatorem quam
3 praesentem monere melius visum est. Et tibi, P.
Nasica, et quicumque idem quod tu [2] occultius sen-
serunt, non gravabor reddere dilatae pugnae rationem.
4 Nam tantum abest ut me hesternae quietis paeniteat,
ut servatum a me exercitum eo consilio credam. In
qua me opinione sine causa esse ne quis [3] vestrum
credat, recognoscat agedum mecum, si videtur, quam
5 multa pro hoste et adversus nos fuerint. Iam omnium
primum, quantum numero nos praestent neminem
vestrum nec ante ignorasse et hesterno die explica-
tam [4] intuentis aciem animadvertisse certum habeo.
6 Ex hac nostra paucitate quarta pars militum praesidio
impedimentis relicta erat; nec ignavissimum quem-
7 que relinqui ad custodiam sarcinarum scitis. Sed
fuerimus omnes: parvum hoc tandem esse credimus,
quod ex his castris, in quibus hac nocte mansimus,
exituri in aciem hodierno aut summum crastino die,
8 si ita videbitur, diis bene iuvantibus sumus? nihilne
interest, utrum militem, quem neque viae labor eo
die [5] neque operis fatigaverit, requietum, integrum
in tentorio suo arma capere iubeas atque in aciem
plenum virium, vigentem et corpore et animo educas,

[1] ex omnibus *ed. Amstelod. 1633*: omnibus ex *V*.
[2] tu *add. Fr.*: *om. V*.
[3] sine causa esse ne quis *Vahlen*: esse ne quis sine causa *V*.
[4] explicatam *J. F. Gronovius*: inplicatam *V*.
[5] labor eo die *Vahlen*: labore hodie *V*.





Nasica, alone among all those who favoured fighting yesterday disclosed his opinion to me; he too kept silent later, so that he may have seemed to have exchanged his view for mine. Certain others thought it better to criticize their general behind his back rather than to advise him openly. Both to you, Publius Nasica, and to any others who less openly shared your opinion, I shall not hesitate to give an accounting for having postponed the battle. For I am so far from regretting our inactivity yesterday that I believe I saved the army by so planning. That none of you may believe me to hold this opinion groundlessly, come let each, if he please, review with me how many factors weighed for the enemy and against us. First of all, of their great superiority in numbers I am sure that you were all previously aware, and that you took notice of it on seeing the battle-line drawn up yesterday. Out of this small force of ours, one-fourth of the men were left to guard the baggage; and you know that the guarding of the packs is not put in the hands of the most cowardly. But suppose we had been united: can we possibly consider it a small advantage that we shall go out, with the good help of the gods,[1] from this camp in which we have spent last night, to do battle either today or at latest tomorrow if we so determine? Does it make no difference whether you bid a soldier take up arms and lead him into battle when he is wearied neither by the toil of a journey nor by construction on that day, when he is rested and refreshed in his own tent, when he is full of strength and vigorous in body and in spirit? Or whether he B.C. 168

[1] For similar expressions of precautionary piety, see VI. xxiii. 10, VII. xxxii. 17, XXI. xxi. 6.

A.U.C. 586

9 an longo itinere fatigatum et onere fessum, madentem sudore, arentibus[1] siti faucibus, ore atque oculis repletis pulvere, torrente[2] meridiano sole, hosti obicias recenti, requieto,[3] qui nulla re ante consumptas
10 vires ad proelium adferat? quis, pro deum fidem, ita comparatus, vel iners atque imbellis, fortissimum virum non[4] vicerit?
11 Quid, quod hostes per summum otium instruxerant aciem, praeparaverant animos, stabant, compositi suis quisque ordinibus, nobis tunc repente trepidandum in acie instruenda erat et incompositis concurrendum? XXXIX. At hercule aciem quidem inconditam inordinatamque habuissemus, sed[5] castra munita, provisam aquationem, tutum ad eam iter praesidiis impositis, explorata circa omnia; an nihil nostri[6] habentes praeter nudum campum, in quo
2 pugnaremus . . . .[7] Maiores vestri castra munita portum ad omnis casus exercitus ducebant esse, unde ad pugnam exirent, quo iactati tempestate pugnae
3 receptum haberent. Ideo, cum munimentis ea saepsissent,[8] praesidio quoque valido firmabant, quod, qui castris exutus erat, etiamsi pugnando acie vicisset, pro victo haberetur. Castra sunt victori recepta-
4 culum, victo perfugium. Quam multi exercitus, quibus minus prospera pugnae fortuna fuit, intra vallum compulsi tempore suo, interdum momento post, eruptione facta victorem hostem pepulerunt?

[1] arentibus *Florebellus*: ardentibus *V*.
[2] torrente *I. Perizonius*: torrentem *V*.
[3] requieto *J. F. Gronovius*: quieto *V*.
[4] non *add. Fr.*: *om. V*.
[5] sed *add. Madvig*: *om. V*.
[6] nostri *Cobet*: vestri *V*.
[7] *lacunam suspiciunt edd.*; *Giarratano*: "*supple*: sine ullo consilio cum hoste dimicassemus? *vel aliquid simile*."
[8] ea saepsissent *J. F. Gronovius*: eas saepissent *V*.





B.C. 168

is wearied by a long march and tired by his load, dripping with sweat, his throat dry with thirst, his mouth and eyes full of dust, with the midday sun beating down upon him? Will you pit him against an enemy fresh and rested, who brings into battle a strength unsapped by previous exertion? Who, by the gods' good faith, when he is thus matched, sluggish though he be and unwarlike, will not overcome the bravest fighter?

"What of the fact that the enemy had drawn up their line completely at leisure, had made ready their spirits, were standing each at his post in the ranks, while we at that time had to incur the hasty turmoil of drawing up our line and had to enter battle in disorder? XXXIX. Oh yes, you say, we should have had a battle-line undeployed and disorderly; but our camp was fortified, our water-supply found, the way to it secured by placing guards, and reconnaissance made all around. Or did our men have nothing but the bare ground on which to fight . . . ? Your ancestors regarded a fortified camp as a haven against all the mischances of an army, whence they might go out to fight, and whither they might find shelter from the storm of battle. Therefore when they had walled in their camp with fortifications, they used also to strengthen it with a powerful garrison, because one who had been stripped of his camp, even though he had won the battle, would be considered the loser. Camp is the shelter of the conqueror, the refuge of the conquered. How many armies meeting with none too favourable fortune in battle, after being driven within their rampart, have in their own good time, sometimes after only a moment, sallied forth and routed the victorious enemy? This abode is a second

A.U.C. 586

5 Patria altera militaris est haec [1] sedes, vallumque pro
moenibus et tentorium suum cuique militi domus ac
penates sunt. Sine ulla sede vagi dimicassemus, ut
quo victi, quo [2] victores nos reciperemus?

6 His difficultatibus et impedimentis pugnae illud
opponitur: quid, si hostis hac interposita nocte
abisset, quantum rursus sequendo eo penitus in ulti-
7 mam Macedoniam exhauriendum laboris erat? Ego
autem neque mansurum eum neque in aciem copias
educturum fuisse certum habeo, si cedere hinc statuis-
set. Quanto enim facilius abire fuit cum procul abes-
semus, quam nunc cum in cervicibus sumus, nec fallere
8 nos interdiu aut nocte abeundo potest? quid autem
est [3] nobis optatius quam ut, quorum castra praealta
fluminis ripa tuta, vallo insuper saepta ac [4] crebris
turribus oppugnare adorti sumus, eos relictis muni-
mentis, agmine effuso abeuntis in patentibus campis
ab tergo adoriamur?

Hae dilatae pugnae ex hesterno die in hodiernum
9 causae fuerunt. Pugnare enim et ipsi mihi placet;
et ideo, quia per Elpeum amnem saepta ad hostem
via erat, alio saltu deiectis hostium praesidiis
novum iter aperui, neque prius, quam debellavero,
absistam."

XL. Post hanc orationem silentium fuit, partim
traductis in sententiam eius, partim verentibus
nequiquam offendere in eo, quod utcumque praeter-
2 missum revocari non posset. Ac ne illo ipso quidem

[1] Patria altera militaris est haec *Wesenberg*: patriam alteram est militari est haec *V*.
[2] victi, quo *add. H. J. Müller*: *om. V*.
[3] nos interdiu aut nocte abeundo potest? quid autem est *Madvig*: nos nec interdiu aut nocte abeundtem est *V*.
[4] ac *add. Fr.*: *om. V*.





home for the soldier, its rampart takes the place of city walls and his own tent is the soldier's dwelling and hearthside. Should we have fought like nomads with no abode, so that, whether conquered or conquerors, we might return—where? B.C. 168

"To this statement of the difficulties and hindrances to battle, here is the rejoinder: what if the enemy had departed during the interval of last night? How much toil would we have had to expend in the renewed pursuit far into the utmost end of Macedonia? For my part I am sure that he would never have remained here or led his forces out into battle-line had he decided to retreat from here. For how much easier it would have been to depart while we were at a distance than now when we are on his neck and he cannot trick us by leaving either by night or day? What more can we wish than to attack our enemy in open country from the rear of his retreating and dispersed column after he has left his fortifications, instead of attacking, as we have attempted to do, his camp protected by the lofty bank of a river, and barricaded as well with a rampart and plenty of towers?

"These were my reasons for postponing battle from yesterday to today. For I too prefer to fight; and therefore since the way to the enemy was barred by the Elpeüs River, I have opened a new road by expelling the enemy's guards from a different pass, and I will not turn back till I have fought to a finish."

XL. After this speech silence ensued, partly because men had changed over to his opinion, partly because they shrank from offending him to no purpose in a matter which was in any case a lost opportunity and could not be brought back. Nor

A.U.C. 586 die aut consuli aut regi pugnare placebat, regi,[1] quod nec fessos, ut pridie, ex via neque trepidantis in acie instruenda et vixdum compositos adgressurus erat, consuli, quod in novis castris non ligna, non pabulum convectum erat, ad quae petenda ex pro-
3 pinquis agris magna pars militum e castris exierat. Neutro imperatorum volente fortuna, quae plus con-
4 siliis humanis pollet, contraxit certamen. Flumen erat haud magnum propius hostium castra,[2] ex quo et Macedones et Romani aquabantur praesidiis ex utraque ripa positis, ut id facere tuto possent. Duae
5 cohortes a parte Romanorum erant, Marrucina et Paeligna, duae turmae Samnitium equitum, quibus
6 praeerat M. Sergius Silus legatus; et aliud pro castris stativum erat praesidium sub C. Cluvio legato, tres cohortes, Firmana, Vestina, Cremonensis, duae tur-
7 mae equitum, Placentina et Aesernina.[3] Cum otium ad flumen esset neutris lacessentibus, hora circiter nona[4] iumentum e manibus curantium
8 elapsum in ulteriorem ripam effugit. Quod cum per aquam ferme genus[5] tenus altam tres miltes sequerentur, Thraces duo id iumentum ex medio alveo in suam ripam trahentes caperent, hos persecuti illi[6] altero eorum occiso receptoque[7] iumento ad stationem

[1] pugnare placebat, regi *add. Kreyssig*: *om. V*.
[2] castra *J. F. Gronovius*: castris *V*.
[3] Placentina et Aesernina *Sigonius*: placentis naeptessernina *V*.
[4] nona *J. F. Gronovius*: quarta *V*.
[5] *sic V*: genibus *Novák*.
[6] caperent, hos persecuti illi *add. M. Müller*: *om. V*.
[7] receptoque *A. Perizonius*: receptoque eo *V*.





even on that day did either the consul or the king B.C. 168 care to fight, the king because he would have had to attack men no longer weary from travel as on the previous day, nor in turmoil as they marshalled their line of battle and hardly in formation, the consul because neither wood nor fodder had been collected in the new camp and a large number of soldiers had gone out of camp to seek them from the near-by countryside. Without either general wishing it, Fortune, which is stronger than human planning, brought on the battle. There was a stream of no great size nearer the camp of the enemy, from which both the Macedonians and the Romans were drawing water after posting guards on either bank in order to accomplish this mission safely. There were two cohorts on the Roman side, a Marrucinian and a Paelignian, and two troops of Samnite cavalry under the command of the staff-officer Marcus Sergius Silus; another fixed outpost was stationed before the camp under the staff-officer Gaius Cluvius, composed of three cohorts, from Firmum, the Vestini, and Cremona respectively, and two troops of cavalry from Placentia and Aesernia.[1] While there was quiet at the river, since neither side took the offensive, about the ninth hour a baggage-animal shied from the hands of his grooms and escaped toward the other bank.[2] While three soldiers were chasing him through the water, which was about knee-deep, two Thracians dragged the animal from mid-stream to their bank; the Romans pursued them, killed one,

[1] The Marrucini, Paeligni, Samnites, and Vestini were Italian "allies" of the Romans; Firmum, Cremona, Placentia, and Aesernia were colonies with Latin rights.
[2] Plutarch credits Aemilius with ordering a horse to be let loose, in order to bring on the battle.

A.U.C. 586
9 suorum se[1] recipiebant. Octingentorum Thracum
praesidium in hostium ripa erat. Ex his pauci primo,
aegre passi popularem in suo conspectu caesum, ad
persequendos interfectores fluvium transgressi sunt,
10 dein plures, postremo omnes, et cum praesidio . . .[2]

XLI. . . .[3] proelium ducit. Movebat imperii
maiestas, gloria viri, ante omnia aetas, quod maior
sexaginta annis iuvenum munia in parte praecipua
laboris periculique capessebat. Intervallum, quod
inter caetratos et phalanges erat, implevit legio atque
2 aciem hostium interrupit. A tergo caetrati erant,[4]
frontem adversus clupeatos habebat; chalcaspides[5]
appellabantur. Secundam legionem L. Albinus
consularis ducere adversus leucaspidem phalangem
3 iussus; ea media acies hostium fuit. In dextrum
cornu, unde circa fluvium commissum proelium erat,
elephantos inducit et alas[6] sociorum; et hinc primum
4 fuga Macedonum est orta. Nam sicut pleraque
nova commenta mortalium in verbis vim habent, ex-
periendo,[7] cum agi non quem ad modum agatur[8]
edisseri oportet, sine ullo effectu evanescunt, ita tum

[1] se *add. Fr.*: *om. V.*
[2] *Exciderunt duo folia.*
[3] *Ibi finitur folium; lacunam ind. ed. Bas. 1531.*
[4] caetrati erant *Madvig*: cetratis erant *V.*
[5] chalcaspides *J. F. Gronovius*: caclaspides *V.*
[6] elephantos inducit et alas *Kreyssig*: elepantos induciet alias *V.*
[7] experiendo *Turnebus*: expiēdo *V.*
[8] agatur *Sigonius*: agātur *V.*

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[1] Two leaves of the MS. are missing at this point. Judging from Plutarch, these pages contained a description of the advance of the armies from camp, their battle-order, skir-





recaptured the animal, and retired to their post. B.C. 168
There was a guard of eight hundred Thracians on the Macedonian bank. At first a few of these, angry at the killing of their fellow-countryman before their eyes, crossed the river in pursuit of the killers, then more went, and finally the whole force, and with the guard . . .[1]

XLI. . . . led . . . the battle. The men were stirred by the prestige of his office, the fame of the man, and above all by his age, for though he was over sixty he kept assuming functions of men in their prime in undergoing an outstanding amount of toil and danger. The legion filled the space between the light infantry and the phalanxes and broke the enemy line. In the rear were the light infantry; the consul faced a unit with metal shields—these were called the Bronze Shields. Lucius Albinus the ex-consul was ordered to lead the second legion against the White Shield phalanx[2]; this was the centre of the hostile line. On the right wing, where the battle had begun near the river, the consul brought up the elephants and the squadrons of the allies; and from this point the flight of the Macedonians first began. For, as frequently men's new inventions appear strong when described, but in actual trial, when there is need for action rather than a description of how they will act, these inventions disappear without achieving any result, so in this battle the anti-elephant corps was

mishing by the light-armed troops in which the Macedonians had the advantage, the charge of the Paelignians against some Macedonian light infantry and their collision with the phalanx (cf. below, sec. 9), and perhaps the impression made on Aemilius by the phalanx, an impression which he was careful not to show at the time.

[2] Plutarch speaks of this unit as having gilded armour.

A.U.C. 586 elephantomachae[1] nomen tantum sine usu fuerunt.
5 Elephantorum impetum subsecuti sunt socii nominis
6 Latini pepuleruntque laevum cornu. In medio secunda legio immissa dissipavit phalangem. Neque ulla evidentior causa victoriae fuit, quam quod multa passim proelia erant, quae fluctuantem turbarunt primo, deinde disiecerunt phalangem, cuius confertae et intentis horrentis hastis intolerabiles vires sunt;
7 si carptim adgrediendo circumagere immobilem longitudine et gravitate hastam cogas, confusa strue implicantur; si vero aut ab latere aut ab tergo aliquid
8 tumultus increpuit, ruinae modo turbantur, sicut tum adversus catervatim incurrentes Romanos et interrupta multifariam acie obviam ire cogebantur; et Romani, quacumque data intervalla essent, insi-
9 nuabant ordines suos. Qui si universa acie in frontem adversus instructam phalangem concurrissent, quod Paelignis principio pugnae incaute congressis adversus caetratos evenit, induissent se hastis nec confertam aciem sustinuissent.

XLII. Ceterum sicut peditum passim caedes fiebant, nisi qui abiectis armis fugerunt, sic equitatus

[1] elephantomachae *Hartel*: elephanto mace *V*.

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[1] Zonaras 9. 22 (p. 269) says that these were infantry with sharp spikes projecting from their helmets and shields, and also cavalry, both forces having been drilled to fight elephants; dummy elephants were used to accustom the horses to them. The words of Livy at the beginning of sec. 4 seem to be a direct quotation from Polybius XXIX. 17. 2 (12).

[2] A variant account of the battle is given by Frontinus II. iii. 20, who says that Paulus arranged his line in wedges, and tried to draw out the Macedonians by attacking with skirmishers (*velites*); when this failed, Paulus retreated, to induce the Macedonians to break formation; when this also





a mere name without practical effect.[1] The charge B.C. 168
of the elephants was followed up by the allies of the Latin Name, who routed the left wing. In the centre the charge of the second legion scattered the phalanx. No reason for the victory was more obvious than the fact that there were many scattered engagements which first threw into confusion and then disrupted the wavering phalanx. The power of this formation when closed up and bristling with spears extended is irresistible; but if by attacks at several points you compel them to swing their spears about, unwieldy because of their length and weight, they become tangled in a haphazard mass; and if indeed some sort of uproar is heard on a flank or from the rear, they are involved in utter confusion. Such was the case on this occasion, when the phalanx was compelled to meet the Romans who were attacking in groups, while the Macedonian line was broken at many points. The Romans for their part kept infiltrating their units wherever gaps presented themselves. If they had attacked frontally in solid line against an orderly phalanx, as happened to the Paelignians who at the beginning of the battle recklessly met the light infantry, the Romans would have spitted themselves on the spears and would not have withstood the solid line.[2]

XLII. However, while the infantry were being slaughtered all over the field, except for those who cast away their weapons and fled, the cavalry on the

failed, the Roman cavalry from the left wing were ordered to charge along the front of the phalanx and break off the spear-points with their shields; when this manoeuvre succeeded, the Macedonians broke and fled. Livy seems to have a far preferable account.

A.U.C. 586

2 prope integer pugna excessit. Princeps fugae rex
ipse erat. Iam a Pydna cum sacris alis equitum
Pellam petebat; confestim eos Cotys[1] sequebatur
3 Odrysarumque equitatus. Ceterae quoque Mace-
donum alae integris abibant ordinibus, quia interiecta
peditum acies, cuius caedes victores tenebat,[2]
4 immemores fecerat sequendi equites. Diu phalanx
a fronte, a lateribus, ab tergo caesa est. Postremo
qui ex hostium manibus elapsi erant, inermes ad
mare fugientes, quidam aquam etiam ingressi, manus
ad eos qui in classe erant tendentes, suppliciter
5 vitam orabant; et cum scaphas concurrere undique
ab navibus cernerent, ad excipiendos sese venire rati,
ut caperent potius quam occiderent, longius in aquam,
6 quidam etiam natantes, progressi sunt. Sed cum
hostiliter e[3] scaphis caederentur retro qui poterant
nando repetentes terram in aliam foediorem pestem
incidebant; elephanti enim ab rectoribus ad litus
acti exeuntis obterebant elidebantque.
7 Facile convenit ab Romanis[4] numquam una acie
tantum Macedonum interfectum. Caesa enim ad
viginti milia hominum sunt; ad sex milia,[5] qui Pyd-
nam ex acie perfugerant, vivi in potestatem pervene-
runt, et vagi ex fuga quinque milia[6] hominum capta.
8 Ex victoribus ceciderunt non plus centum, et eorum
multo maior pars Paeligni; volnerati aliquanto plures
9 sunt. Quod si maturius pugnari coeptum esset, ut

[1] confestim eos Cotys *Jac. Gronovius*: confestī costocus *V*.
[2] tenebat *J. F. Gronovius*: tenebant *V*.
[3] e *add. Fr.*: *om. V*.
[4] convenit ab Romanis *Weissenborn*: conueniebat romanis *V*.
[5] milia *add. Fr.*: *om. V*.
[6] ex fuga quinque milia *Kreyssig*: et fuga ū m *V*.





B.C. 168

other hand retired from the fight almost unscathed. The king himself was the leader in the flight. Directly from Pydna he set out for Pella with the Sacred Squadrons of cavalry; immediately Cotys and the Odrysan cavalry followed them. The other Macedonian squadrons also continued to retreat in orderly formation because the line of the infantry in between kept the victors busy with slaughter and caused them to forget the pursuit of the cavalry. For a long time the phalanx was cut to pieces from the front, from the flanks, and from the rear. Finally those who slipped through the hands of the Romans fled weaponless to the sea, and some even entered the water and raising their hands to the men on board ship humbly begged for life. When they saw small boats gathering from all around the fleet, they thought that these were coming to pick them up, to take them prisoner rather than to kill them, and so they advanced farther into the water, some even swimming. But when they were mercilessly cut down from the boats, those who could made for shore again by swimming and ran into a more dreadful form of destruction; for the elephants, guided by their mahouts to the shore, trampled and crushed the men coming out of the water.

It is readily agreed that the Romans never killed so many Macedonians in any other single battle. For about twenty thousand men were slain; about six thousand who escaped from the battlefield to Pydna were taken alive, and five thousand stragglers were captured in flight. Of the victors not more than one hundred fell and by far the greater part of them were Paeligni; somewhat more were wounded. If fighting had broken out earlier, so that sufficient

A.U.C. 586
satis diei victoribus ad persequendum superesset,
deletae omnes copiae forent: nunc imminens nox et
fugientes texit et Romanis pigritiem ad sequendum
locis ignotis fecit.

XLIII. Perseus ad Pieriam silvam via militari fre-
quenti agmine equitum et regio comitatu fugit.
2 Simul in silvam[1] ventum est, ubi plures diversae
semitae erant, et nox adpropinquabat, cum perpaucis
3 maxime fidis via devertit. Equites sine duce relicti
alii alia in civitates suas dilapsi sunt; perpauci inde
Pellam celerius quam ipse Perseus, quia recta et
4 expedita via ierant, pervenerunt. Rex ad mediam
ferme noctem errore[2] et variis difficultatibus viae est
5 vexatus; in regia Perseo,[3] qui Pellae praeerant
Euctus Eulaeusque et regii[4] pueri praesto erant.
Contra ea amicorum, qui alii alio casu servati ex
proelio Pellam venerant, cum saepe arcessiti essent,
6 nemo ad eum venit. Tres erant tantum cum eo
fugae comites, Euander Cretensis, Neo Boeotus[5] et
7 Archidamus Aetolus. Cum iis iam metuens ne, qui
venire ad se abnuerent, maius aliquid mox auderent,
8 quarta vigilia profugit. Secuti eum sunt admodum
quingenti Cretenses. Petebat Amphipolim; sed
nocte a Pella exierat, properans ante lucem Axium
amnem traicere, eum finem sequendi propter diffi-
cultatem transitus fore ratus Romanis.

[1] in silvam *Fr.*: inviam silvam *V.*
[2] errore *Madvig*: terrore *V.*
[3] viae est vexatus; in regia Perseo *Novák*: uidex vexatus in regiā estaperseo *V.*
[4] Euctus Eulaeusque et regii *H. J. Müller*: coactusque regi *V.*
[5] Neo Boeotus *Madvig*: cñ. euboetius *V.*

[1] Plutarch, *Aemilius* xxiii, calls them "the mintmasters," and says that Perseus put them to death.





daylight would have remained for the victors to pursue, the entire Macedonian force would have been wiped out; as it was, the approach of night both sheltered the fugitives and inspired in the Romans a reluctance to pursue over unknown terrain. B.C. 168

XLIII. Perseus fled to the Pierian Forest along the military road with a large column of cavalry and the royal entourage. As soon as they arrived in the forest, where there were many divergent ways, and night was approaching, the king left the road with a very few of his most trusty men. The cavalry, left without a commander, took various routes in dispersing to their own cities; a very few went on to Pella more rapidly than the king, since they had gone by the direct and clear way. The king was bothered till about midnight by losing his way and by various difficulties of the route. At the palace Perseus was waited upon by the commanders of Pella, Euctus, and Eulaeus,[1] and the royal pages. On the other hand, of his friends who by various haps had come safely from the battle to Pella, not one came to him, though they were summoned many times. There were only three companions in flight with him, Evander the Cretan, Neon the Boeotian, and Archidamus the Aetolian. With these he escaped in the fourth watch, being now afraid that those who refused to come to him would presently venture on a bolder stroke. His escort was composed of about five hundred Cretans. He was making for Amphipolis; but he had left Pella at night because of his anxiety to cross the Axius River before dawn, since he thought that because of the difficulty of crossing this would be the limit of the Roman pursuit.

A.U.C. 586

XLIV. Consulem, cum se in castra victor recepisset,
ne sincero gaudio frueretur, cura de minore filio sti-
2 mulabat. P. Scipio is erat, Africanus et ipse postea
deleta Carthagine appellatus, naturalis consulis Pauli
3 filius,[1] adoptione Africani nepos. Is septimum deci-
mum tunc annum agens, quod ipsum curam augebat,
dum effuse sequitur hostes, in partem aliam turba
ablatus erat; et serius cum redisset, tunc demum,
recepto sospite filio, victoriae tantae gaudium consul
sensit.

4 Amphipolim cum iam fama pugnae pervenisset con-
cursusque matronarum in templum Dianae, quam
Tauropolon vocant, ad opem exposcendam fieret,
Diodorus, qui praeerat urbi, metuens ne Thraces,
quorum duo milia in praesidio erant, urbem in tumultu
diriperent, ab subornato ab se per fallaciam in tabel-
5 larii speciem litteras in foro medio accepit. Scriptum
in iis erat ad Emathiam classem Romanam appulsam
esse agrosque circa vexari; orare praefectos Emathiae
6 ut praesidium adversus populatores mittat. His
lectis hortatur Thracas ut ad tuendam Emathiae oram
proficiscantur: magnam eos caedem praedamque
7 palatis passim per agros Romanis facturos. Simul
elevat famam adversae pugnae: quae si vera foret,
alium super alium recentes ex fuga venturos fuisse.

[1] filius *Duker*: consulis *V*.

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[1] The soldiers hailed him as *imperator* for the third time (Mommsen, *Münzwesen* 633, number 486).

[2] The district west of Amphipolis, toward the Chalcidic peninsula.





B.C. 168

XLIV. When the consul returned victorious to camp, he was prevented from enjoying an unalloyed delight by the sting of worry over his younger son. This was Publius Scipio, who was also called Africanus later after the destruction of Carthage, born son to the consul Paulus and by adoption grandson of Africanus. This son was then in his seventeenth year, a fact which in itself increased the anxiety for him, and had been carried away in another direction by a crowd while in hot pursuit of the enemy. When he returned very late, then at last on the safe recovery of his son the consul felt the joy of so great a victory.[1]

At Amphipolis the news of the battle had by now arrived; there was a gathering of the matrons in the temple of Diana whom they call Tauropolos, to pray for help. Diodorus, who was in charge of the city, feared that the Thracians, two thousand of whom were in the garrison, would plunder the city during the confusion. Hence he craftily hired a man to play the part of dispatch bearer, from whom he received papers in the middle of the market place. The message in these despatches was that the Roman fleet had put in at Emathia [2] and was harassing the surrounding countryside, and that the officers in charge of Emathia requested him to send a force against the ravagers. After reading this, he urged the Thracians to start out to defend the coast of Emathia, telling them that they would cause great slaughter and get great booty among the Romans scattered all over the fields. At the same time he minimized the report of the loss of a battle; if this were true, he said, man after man would have been arriving direct from the rout. Having got rid of

A.U.C. 586
8 Per hanc causam Thracibus ablegatis, simul trans-
gressos eos Strymonem vidit, portas clausit.
XLV. Tertio die Perseus, quam pugnatum erat,
2 Amphipolim venit. Inde oratores cum caduceo ad
Paulum misit. Interim Hippias et Midon et Pan-
tauchus, principes amicorum regis, Beroea,[1] quo ex
acie confugerant, ipsi ad consulem profecti Romanis
se dedunt. Hoc idem et alii deinceps metu perculsi[2]
3 parabant facere. Consul nuntiis victoriae Q. Fabio
filio et L. Lentulo et Q. Metello cum litteris Romam
missis spolia iacentis hostium exercitus peditibus
4 concessit, equitibus praedam circumiecti agri, dum
ne amplius duabus noctibus a castris abessent. Ipse
5 propius mare ad Pydnam castra movit. Beroea
primum, deinde Thessalonica et Pella et deinceps
6 omnis ferme Macedonia intra biduum dedita. Pyd-
naei, qui proximi erant, nondum miserant legatos;
multitudo incondita plurium simul gentium turbaque,[3]
quae ex acie fuga in unum compulsa erat, consilium et
consensum civitatis impediebat; nec clausae modo
7 portae, sed etiam inaedificatae erant. Missi Midon
et Pantauchus sub muros ad conloquium Solonis qui
praesidio praeerat;[4] per eum emittitur militaris turba.
Oppidum deditum militibus datur diripiendum.
8 Perseus una tantum spe Bisaltarum auxilii temp-
tata,[5] ad quos nequiquam miserat legatos, in con-

[1] Beroea *Kreyssig*: ueroeam *V*.
[2] alii deinceps metu perculsi *J. F. Gronovius*: aliae deinceps metu perculsae *V*.
[3] turbaque, quae *Fr.*: turbaeque *V*.
[4] praeerat *J. F. Gronovius*: erat *V*.
[5] temptata *J. F. Gronovius*: temptati *V*.

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[1] A tribe living just west of Amphipolis.





the Thracians on this pretext, he barred the gates as soon as he saw that they had crossed the Strymon. B.C. 168

XLV. On the second day after the battle Perseus arrived at Amphipolis. From there he sent ambassadors with the staff of Mercury to Paulus. Meanwhile Hippias, Midon, and Pantauchus, the chief among the king's friends, set out of their own accord from Beroea, where they had taken refuge after the battle, and surrendered to the Romans at the consul's camp. Others too, overcome with fear, were thereafter preparing to do the same. The consul sent as messengers of his victory his son Quintus Fabius, Lucius Lentulus, and Quintus Metellus with despatches to Rome and granted the spoils of the slain enemy to the infantry, and to the cavalry the right to plunder the surrounding territory, provided that they were not absent from camp for more than two nights. He himself moved camp nearer to the sea by Pydna. Beroea first, then Thessalonica and Pella, and then almost all Macedonia was surrendered within two days. The people of Pydna who were nearest had not yet sent envoys; a heterogeneous crowd of numerous nationalities together and the mob which had been amalgamated by flight from the battlefield were standing in the way of planning and agreement among the citizens. The gates were not only closed but built up solid. Midon and Pantauchus were sent up to the walls to confer with Solon, who was in charge of the garrison; through him dismissal of the mob of soldiers was arranged. The city when surrendered was given to the Roman troops to plunder.

After Perseus had tried his only expedient, to get aid from the Bisaltae,[1] to whom he sent envoys with-

A.U.C. 586
9 tionem processit Philippum secum filium habens, ut
et ipsos Amphipolitanos et equitum peditumque qui
aut se [1] persecuti aut fuga eodem delati erant adhor-
10 tando animos confirmaret. Sed aliquotiens dicere
incipientem cum lacrimae praepedissent, quia ipse
hiscere nequiit,[2] Euandro Cretensi editis, quae agi
11 cum multitudine vellet, de templo descendit. Mul-
titudo, sicut ad conspectum regis fletumque tam
miserabilem et ipsa ingemuerat lacrimaveratque, ita
Euandri orationem aspernabatur; et quidam ausi
sunt media ex contione succlamare "abite hinc, ne,
qui pauci supersumus, propter vos pereamus."
12 Horum ferocia vocem Euandri clausit. Rex inde
domum [3] se recepit pecuniaque et auro argentoque
in lembos qui in Strymone stabant delatis et ipse ad
13 flumen descendit. Thraces navibus se committere
non ausi domos dilapsi et alia militaris generis turba; [4]
Cretenses spe [5] pecuniae secuti. Et quoniam in
dividendo plus offensionum quam gratiae erat, quin-
quaginta talenta iis posita sunt in ripa diripienda.
14 Ab hac direptione cum per tumultum naves con-
cenderent, lembum unum in ostio amnis multitudine
gravatum merserunt. Galepsum [6] eo die, postero
15 Samothracam, quam petebant, perveniunt; ad duo
milia talentum pervecta eo dicuntur.

XLVI. Paulus per omnes deditas civitates dimissis

[1] se *Madvig*: sem *V*.
[2] ipse hiscere nequiit *Madvig*: ipse scire nequid *V*.
[3] inde domum *J. F. Gronovius*: in domum *V*.
[4] alia . . . turba *Madvig*: aliae . . . turbae *V*.
[5] Cretenses spe *H. J. Müller*: cretensis spem *V*.
[6] Galepsum *Sigonius*: calipsum *V*.





out result, he appeared before an assembly bringing B.C. 168 his son Philip with him, in order to strengthen by exhortation the spirits of the people of Amphipolis themselves, and of the cavalry and infantry who had either accompanied him or had in their flight reached the same goal. He began to speak several times, but tears choked him, and when he could not open his mouth he instructed Evander the Cretan in the matters which he wished to discuss with the people and went down from the sacred spot.[1] At the sight of the king and his truly pitiable weeping the crowd itself groaned and wept; but with equal readiness they would have none of Evander's speech; and some dared to shout from the midst of the assembly, "Get away from here so that we few survivors may not perish on your account." The vehemence of these interruptions choked off Evander's speech. Thereafter the king went home, put his money, his gold, and his silver into the scout-ships which were moored in the Strymon and himself went down to the river. The Thracians and the rest of the mob of soldiers, not daring to trust themselves to ships, slipped away to their homes; the Cretans followed Perseus in hopes of cash. Because apportionment would create more hard feelings than gratitude, fifty talents were set out on the river-bank for them to scramble for. When after this scramble they were boarding the ships in riotous fashion, they sank one scout-ship at the mouth of the river by overcrowding it. On that day the party reached Galepsus, on the next Samothrace, their destination; it is said that two thousand talents were brought there.

XLVI. Paulus sent men to take charge of all the

[1] *I.e.*, the speakers' stand, cf. VIII. xiv. 12, describing the consecration of the Roman Rostra.

A.U.C. 586

qui praeessent, ne qua iniuria in nova pace victis
fieret, retentisque apud se caduceatoribus regis P.
Nasicam, ignarus fugae regis, Amphipolim misit cum
2 modica peditum equitumque manu, simul ut Sinticen
evastaret et ad omnes conatus regi[1] impedimento
3 esset. Inter haec Meliboea a Cn. Octavio capitur
diripiturque; ad Aeginium, ad quod oppugnandum
Cn. Anicius legatus missus erat, ducenti[2] eruptione
ex oppido facta amissi sunt ignaris Aeginiensibus
debellatum esse.

4 Consul a Pydna profectus cum toto exercitu die
altero Pellam pervenit et cum castra mille passus inde
posuisset, per aliquot dies ibi stativa habuit, situm
urbis undique aspiciens, quam non sine causa delec-
5 tam esse regiam animadvertit.[3] Sita est in tumulo
vergente in occidentem hibernum; cingunt paludes
inexsuperabilis altitudinis aestate et hieme, quas
6 restagnantes faciunt amnes.[4] Arx Phacus in ipsa
palude, qua proxima urbi est, velut insula eminet,
aggeri operis ingentis imposita, qui et murum sustineat
7 et umore circumfusae paludis nihil laedatur. Muro
urbis coniuncta procul videtur; divisa est intermurali
amni et eadem ponte iuncta, ut nec oppugnante
externo aditum ab ulla parte habeat, nec, si quem
ibi rex includat, ullum nisi per facillimae custodiae
8 pontem effugium. Et gaza regia in eo loco erat; sed
tum nihil praeter trecenta talenta quae missa Gentio
9 regi, deinde retenta fuerant, inventum est. Per quos

[1] regi *J. F. Gronovius*: regis *V*.
[2] ducenti *add. Fr.*: *om. V*.
[3] animadvertit *Wesenberg*: advertit *V*.
[4] faciunt amnes. Arx Phacus *Madvig*: faciunt padcus *V*.





B.C. 168

surrendered cities, so that no wrong should be done to the conquered in the first days of peace; he kept the king's ambassadors with him and, since he did not know of the king's flight, sent Publius Nasica to Amphipolis with a small force of infantry and cavalry, both to ravage Sintica and to interfere with any moves of the king. Meanwhile Meliboea was captured and plundered by Gnaeus Octavius. At Aeginium, to besiege which the staff-officer Gnaeus Anicius had been sent, two hundred men were lost in a sally from the town because the people of Aeginium did not know that the war was over.

The consul set out from Pydna with his whole army and on the second day reached Pella, pitched camp a mile from there, and remained in this camp for a few days, examining the site of the city from all sides and noticing that it had not been chosen to be the capital without good reason. It is situated on a hill sloping to the south-west; swamps of a depth impenetrable in summer or winter surround it, formed by the ponding of rivers. The citadel Phacus projects like an island from the swamp itself, where it comes nearest the city, and is set on an embankment, a huge construction designed to bear the weight of a wall and remain undamaged by the water of the surrounding swamp. At a distance it appears to be joined to the city wall, but it is separated by a river within the walls and likewise connected by a bridge, so that there is no approach for a besieger from without nor is there any escape for anyone imprisoned by the king within, except over a very easily guarded bridge. The royal treasury was located there; but at that time nothing was found except the three hundred talents which had been sent to King Gentius and then withheld.

A.U.C. 586

dies ad Pellam stativa fuerunt, legationes frequentes quae ad gratulandum convenerant, maxime ex Thessa-
10 lia, auditae sunt. Nuntio deinde accepto Persea Samothracam traiecisse, profectus a Pella consul
11 quartis castris Amphipolim pervenit. Effusa omnis obviam[1] turba cuivis indicio erat non bono ac iusto rege orbavisse se Paulum . . .[2]

[1] obviam *ed. Bas. 1535*: obvia *V*.
[2] orbavisse se Paulum *Wessely*: obrauiss.s . . . *V*: *lacuna parva*.





During the days in camp at Pella, numerous embassies B.C. 168 were received which came, especially from Thessaly, to offer congratulations. Then on receiving the news that Perseus had crossed to Samothrace, the consul set out from Pella and arrived at Amphipolis on the fourth day's march. The pouring out of the entire populace to meet him showed to any one that Paulus had not robbed them of a just and good king . . .[1]

[1] Lost at this point is the account of Paulus' entry into Amphipolis and his subsequent march to the eastward, cf. XLV. iv. 2.

# PERIOCHA LIBRI XLIV

Q. Marcius Philippus per invios saltus penetravit Macedoniam et complures urbes occupavit. Rhodii miserunt legatos Romam minantes ut Perseo auxilio essent, nisi populus Romanus cum illo pacem atque amicitiam iungeret. Indigne id latum. Cum id bellum L. Aemilio Paulo, sequentis anni consuli iterum, mandatum esset Paulus in contione precatus, ut quidquid diri populo Romano immineret, in suam domum converteretur, et in Macedoniam profectus vicit Persen totamque Macedoniam in potestatem redegit. Antequam confligeret, praedixit exercitui ne miraretur quod luna proxima nocte defectura erat.[1] Gentius quoque, rex Illyricorum, cum rebellasset, a L. Anicio praetore victus venit in deditionem et cum uxore ac liberis et propinquis Romam missus est. Legati Alexandrini a Cleopatra et Ptolemaeo regibus venerunt querentes de Antiocho rege Syriae, quod is bellum inferret. Perseus sollicitatis in auxilium Eumene rege Pergami et Gentio rege Illyricorum, quia iis pecuniam quam promiserat non dabat, relictus ab his est.

[1] erat *Rossbach*: erait *N* (*Palatinus Latinus 894*), esset *Boendermakerianus*, *Fr.*



# SUMMARY OF BOOK XLIV

Quintus Marcius Philippus entered Macedonia over trackless passes and seized a number of cities. The Rhodians sent envoys to Rome threatening to help Perseus unless the Roman People established peace and friendship with him. This was regarded as an insult. When the campaign in Macedonia was put in charge of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, consul for the second time in the following year, Paulus prayed before an assembly that any disaster which threatened the Roman People might be turned against his own household,[1] and after setting out for Macedonia, he conquered Perseus and brought all Macedonia under control. Before the battle, he[2] announced beforehand to the army, to forestall surprise, that the moon was to be eclipsed on the following night. Gentius also, the king of Illyria, broke the peace with Rome and after being beaten by Lucius Anicius the praetor offered his submission and was sent to Rome with his wife, his children, and his relatives. Envoys from Alexandria came from Queen Cleopatra and King Ptolemy complaining of Antiochus, the king of Syria, because he was attacking them. Although Perseus had urged Eumenes, king of Pergamum, and Gentius, king of Illyria, to help him, he was abandoned by them because he withheld the money which he had promised them.

[1] This prayer of Paulus is mentioned below, XLV. xli. 8.

[2] Livy says Gallus, a staff-officer; Zonaras 9. 23, perhaps following this epitome, says Paulus made the announcement.

# BOOK XLV

# LIBER XLV

A.U.C. 586

I. VICTORIAE nuntii, Q. Fabius et L. Lentulus et Q.
Metellus, quanta potuit adhiberi festinatio, celeriter
Romam cum venissent, praeceptam[1] tamen eius rei
2 laetitiam invenerunt. Quarto post die quam cum
rege est pugnatum, cum in circo ludi fierent, murmur
repente populi tota spectacula pervasit pugnatum in
3 Macedonia et devictum regem esse; dein fremitus
increvit; postremo clamor, plausus velut certo nuntio
4 victoriae allato est exortus. Mirari magistratus et
quaerere auctorem repentinae laetitiae; qui post-
quam nullus erat, evanuit quidem tamquam certae
rei gaudium, omen tamen laetum insidebat animis.
5 Quod postquam verius nuntiis Fabi Lentulique et
Metelli adventu firmatum est, cum victoria ipsa, tum
6 augurio animorum suorum laetabantur. Et altera
traditur[2] circensis turbae non minus similis veri
laetitia. Ante diem quintum decimum kalendas

[1] praeceptam *Ruperti*: praeceptum *V*.
[2] et altera traditur *Vahlen*: et aliter editus *V*: et aliter traditur *Fr*.

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[1] As the battle took place on Sept. 4, Livy thinks of these games as occurring on Sept. 7 by the then calendar (actually June 25, see above, pp. 87–89). It is not possible to establish exactly for this period the date of the Roman Games mentioned below; in the time of Augustus, they extended from Sept. 4 to Sept. 19, but were probably extended as time went on. The story of the mysterious announcement is told



# BOOK XLV

I. THE messengers of victory, Quintus Fabius, Lucius Lentulus, and Quintus Metellus, summoned up the utmost possible speed and quickly arrived in Rome. Yet they found that the joy of their announcement had been anticipated. On the third day[1] after the battle with the king, while games were being celebrated in the circus, a rumour in the audience suddenly swept over the whole auditorium that a battle had been fought in Macedonia and the king beaten; then the buzz increased; finally there arose shouting and clapping, as if a definite report of victory had arrived. The magistrates were astonished and sought after the originator of this sudden rejoicing. When no such person was found, the rejoicing as if for an established fact died away, but the happy omen lurked nevertheless in men's minds. After confirmation came through the genuine report on the arrival of Fabius, Lentulus, and Metellus, men rejoiced both in the actual victory and in the prophetic power of their spirits. The story is told of a second rejoicing by the mob at the circus, which seemed no less genuine. On the sixteenth of B.C. 168

also by Plutarch, *Aemilius* xxiv, who agrees with Livy in eliminating the gods from direct action on this occasion; according to Cicero, *N.D.* II. ii. 6, Valerius Maximus I. viii. 1, and Pliny, *N.H.* VII. xxii. 86, the news was proclaimed by Castor and Pollux.

A.U.C. 586

Octobres,[1] ludorum Romanorum secundo die, C. Licinio consuli ad quadrigas mittendas escendenti[2] tabellarius, qui se ex Macedonia venire diceret, laureatas
7 literas reddidisse[3] dicitur. Quadrigis missis consul currum conscendit et, cum per circum reveheretur ad foros publicos, laureatas tabellas populo ostendit.
8 Quibus conspectis repente immemor spectaculi populus in medium decurrit. Eo senatum consul vocavit recitatisque tabellis ex auctoritate patrum pro foris publicis denuntiavit populo L. Aemilium collegam
9 signis conlatis cum rege Perseo pugnasse; Macedonum exercitum caesum fusumque; regem cum paucis fugisse; civitates omnes Macedoniae in dicio-
10 nem populi Romani venisse. His auditis clamor cum ingenti plausu ortus; ludis relictis domos magna pars hominum ad coniuges, liberos laetum
11 nuntium portabant. Tertius decimus dies erat ab eo, quo in Macedonia pugnatum est.

II. Postero die senatus in curia habitus, supplicationesque decretae et senatus consultum factum est, ut consul, quos praeter milites sociosque navales
2 coniuratos haberet, dimitteret; de militibus sociisque navalibus dimittendis referretur, cum legati ab L. Aemilio consule, a quibus praemissus tabellarius esset, venissent.[4] Ante diem sextum kal.

[1] ante diem quintum decimum kalendas Octobres *Manutius*: ad ix. k. octobrium *V.*
[2] escendenti *Turnebus*: extendenti *V.*
[3] reddidisse *add. Sigonius*: *om. V.*
[4] venissent *add. Sigonius*: *om. V.*

[1] These men under oath might be volunteers or veterans specially summoned (evocati); Servius, *ad Aen.* VIII. 1, describes *coniuratio* as a process of enrolling such special soldiers, as contrasted with a regular levy. But the reason for large numbers at this time may be the failure of the consul





September, on the second day of the Roman Games, it is said that a messenger who said he came from Macedonia handed despatches wreathed with laurel to the consul Gaius Licinius as he was going up to start the chariot-race. When the race was over, the consul mounted his chariot and as he was being driven back to the reserved seats, showed the despatches to the people. At the sight of them the people at once forgot the show and rushed down into the arena. On the spot, the consul summoned the senate, had the despatches read, and on motion of the Fathers, announced to the people before the magistrates' seats that his colleague Lucius Aemilius had fought a pitched battle with King Perseus, that the Macedonian army had been slaughtered and routed, that the king had fled with but few followers, and that all the cities of Macedonia had come under the sway of the Roman people. On hearing this, shouting with great clapping of hands began; the games were deserted and most of the people took home the glad news to their wives and children. This was the twelfth day after the battle had taken place in Macedonia. B.C. 168

II. Next day the senate met in the senate-house, a thanksgiving was voted, and a resolution passed that the consul should discharge men whom he had under oath,[1] except soldiers and sailors, and that the question of dismissing soldiers and sailors should be put when the envoys who had sent the messenger ahead should arrive from the consul Lucius Aemilius. On the twenty-fifth day of September, about the

in Italy to qualify as commander of Roman troops (see below, xii. 12) and the consequent holding at Rome of Roman levies intended for him.

A.U.C. 586

3 Octobres hora fere secunda legati urbem ingressi sunt; ingentem secum occurrentium, quacumque ibant, prosequentiumque trahentes turbam in forum
4 perrexerunt.[1] Senatus forte in curia erat; eo legatos consul introduxit. Ibi tantum temporis retenti dum exponerent, quantae regiae copiae peditum[2] equitumque fuissent, quot milia ex iis[3] caesa, quot
5 capta forent, quam paucorum militum iactura tanta hostium strages facta, quam praeceps[4] rex fugisset; existimari Samothraciam petiturum; paratam classem ad persequendum esse, neque terra neque mari
6 elabi posse. Eadem haec paulo post in contionem traducti exposuerunt; renovataque laetitia, cum consul edixisset, ut omnes aedes sacrae aperirentur, pro se quisque ex contione ad gratias agendas ire dis,
7 ingentique turba non virorum modo sed etiam feminarum compleri tota urbe[5] deorum immortalium templa.

8 Senatus revocatus in curiam supplicationes ob rem egregie gestam ab L. Aemilio consule in quinque dies circa omnia pulvinaria decrevit hostiisque maiori-
9 bus sacrificari iussit. Naves, quae in Tiberi paratae instructaeque stabant, ut, si res posceret,[6] in Mace-

[1] in forum perrexerunt *Hiller*: inforumaturbiperrexerunt *V*: in forum ad tribunal p. *Fr*: in forum ad curiam p. *Weissenborn*.

[2] quantae regiae copiae peditum *Fr*: quartae regiae peditum *V*.

[3] iis *Wesenberg*: his *V*.

[4] praeceps *Heraeus*: pauci *V*: pavide *Madvig*: cum quam paucis *Kreyssig*: raptim *Giarratano*.

[5] compleri tota urbe *Neugebauer*: conperta urbe *V*: conferta tota urbe *Fr*.

[6] si res posceret *Vahlen*: si res possit resistere *V*: si res poscere videretur *Madvig*.





second hour the envoys entered the city,[1] and made B.C. 168
their way to the forum, drawing after them a huge crowd of people who met them at every point on their way, and proceeded to escort them. The senate happened to be in the senate-house; the consul presented the envoys there. They were kept there just long enough to explain how large the king's forces of infantry and cavalry had been, how many thousand of them had been slain and how many captured, with the loss of how few of our men this great slaughter of the enemy had been accomplished, and how hastily the king had fled; it was thought, the envoys said, that he would make for Samothrace; the fleet was ready to pursue, and it would be impossible for him to slip away either by land or sea. On being brought before a meeting shortly thereafter, the envoys related the same facts. Joy broke out anew when the consul proclaimed that all sacred buildings should be opened; from the meeting, each citizen went of his own accord to offer thanks to the gods, and all over the city the temples of the immortal gods were filled with a huge throng, not only of men, but of women too.

The senate was recalled to the senate-house, voted that thanksgiving for the glorious achievement of the consul Lucius Aemilius should be observed for five days at all the banquet-tables of the gods, and ordered sacrifice offered with the larger victims. The ships which were moored in the Tiber ready and equipped to be sent to Macedonia, if circumstances

[1] The envoys seem not to have hurried, or to have been delayed by adverse winds in crossing the Adriatic; Paulus went from Brundisium to Phila in eleven days, with a visit to Delphi included, below, xli. 3.

A.U.C. 586
doniam mitterentur, subduci et in navalibus conlo-
10 cari, socios navalis dato annuo stipendio dimitti et
11 cum iis[1] omnes, qui in consulis verba iuraverant; et
quod militum Corcyrae, Brundisi, ad mare superum
aut in agro Larinati esset—omnibus his locis disposi-
tus exercitus fuerat, cum quo, si res posceret, C.
Licinius collegae ferret opem —, hos omnes milites
12 dimitti placuit. Supplicatio pro contione populo[2]
indicta est ex ante diem quintum idus Octobres cum
eo die in quinque dies.

III. Ex Illyrico duo legati, C. Licinius Nerva et
P. Decius, nuntiarunt exercitum Illyriorum caesum,
Gentium regem captum, in dicione populi Romani
2 Illyricum[3] esse. Ob eas res gestas ductu auspicioque
L. Anici praetoris senatus in triduum supplicationes
decrevit. Indictae[4] a consule sunt in ante diem[5]
quartum et tertium et pridie idus Novembres.

3 Tradidere quidam legatos Rhodios nondum di-
missos[6] post victoriam nuntiatam velut ad ludibrium
4 stolidae superbiae in senatum vocatos esse; ibi
Agepolim, principem eorum, ita locutum: missos
esse legatos ab Rhodiis ad pacem inter Romanos et
5 Persea faciendam, quod id bellum grave atque in-

[1] iis *Wesenberg*: his *V*.
[2] populo *J. F. Gronovius*: populi *V*.
[3] Romani Illyricum *Madvig*: Romani et Illyricum *V*.
[4] decrevit. Indictae *Heraeus*: decrevit. Iterum Latinae edictae *Mommsen*: decrevitur latinae dictae *V*: decrevit. indictae Latinae *Hertz*.
[5] diem *add. Sigonius*: *om. V*.
[6] dimissos *Drakenborch*: missos *V*.





B.C. 168
demanded it, were to be put ashore and housed in the ship-sheds; the sailors were to be discharged after receiving their year's pay, and with them, all those who had taken the oath before the consul. It was voted to discharge all soldiers who were in Corcyra, at Brundisium, along the Adriatic, or in the territory of Larinum—for an army had been distributed among all these places, to enable Gaius Licinius to bring aid to his colleague, if the situation demanded it. At a meeting a thanksgiving was proclaimed to the people for the eleventh of October and the four days following.

III. From Illyricum two envoys, Gaius Licinius Nerva and Publius Decius,[1] announced that the army of the Illyrians had been slaughtered, King Gentius was captured, and Illyricum was under the sway of the Roman people. For this achievement under the leadership and auspices of the praetor Lucius Anicius, the senate voted thanksgiving for three days. The date was proclaimed by the consul as the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth of November.

Some historians[2] relate that the ambassadors of the Rhodians, who had not yet been dismissed after the announcement of victory, were summoned to the senate, as if in mockery of their foolish pride, and that there Agepolis, their chief, spoke as follows: the envoys had been sent by the Rhodians to bring about peace between the Romans and Perseus, since the war between them was the cause of hardship

[1] In XLIV. xxxii. 4, Perpenna is given as the messenger, instead of these two.
[2] Apparently Polybius XXIX. 19 (7); in XLIV. xiv. 8–xv, Livy, following a Roman source, places the embassy a year too early.

A.U.C. 586 commodum Graeciae omni, sumptuosum ac damnosum ipsis Romanis esset. 6 Fortunam populi Romani bene fecisse, quod[1] finito aliter bello gratulandi[2] sibi de victoria egregia Romanis opportunitatem dedisset. Haec ab Rhodio dicta.

Responsum ab senatu esse: Rhodios nec utilitatium Graeciae cura neque[3] impensarum populi Romani, sed pro Perseo legationem eam misisse. 7 Nam si ea fuisset cura, quae simularetur, tum mittendos legatos fuisse, cum Perseus in Thessaliam exercitu inducto per biennium Graecas urbes alias obsideret, alias denuntiatione armorum terreret; 8 tum nullam pacis ab Rhodiis mentionem factam. Postquam superatos saltus transgressosque in Macedoniam Romanos audissent[4] et inclusum teneri Persea, tunc Rhodios legationem misisse, non ad ullam aliam rem quam ad Persea ex imminenti periculo eripiendum. Cum hoc responso legatos dimissos.

IV. Per eosdem dies et M. Marcellus, ex provincia Hispania decedens Marcolica nobili urbe capta, decem pondo auri et argenti ad summam sestertii[5] deciens in[6] aerarium rettulit.

2 Paulus Aemilius consul cum castra, ut supra dictum est, ad Siras terrae Odomanticae haberet, litterae ab

[1] fortunam populi Romani bene fecisse, quod *Wesenberg*: fortunambper beneficiis sequendo *V*.
[2] finito aliter bello gratulandi *Fr*: finito aliter bello sequendo aliter gratulandi *V*.
[3] cura neque *Madvig*: neque cura *V*.
[4] audissent *Vahlen*: audirent *V*.
[5] sestertii *J. F. Gronovius*: sestertium *V*.
[6] in *add. Fr*: *om. V*.





and injury to all Greece, and of expense and loss to the Romans themselves. B.C. 168 The good fortune of the Roman people had been kind to the Rhodians in giving them the opportunity, now that the war had been brought to an end by other means, of congratulating the Romans on their glorious victory. This was the speech of the Rhodian.

The answer of the senate was that the Rhodians had sent that embassy through concern neither for the welfare of Greece nor for the outlays of the Roman People, but on behalf of Perseus. For had their concern been as alleged, their envoys should have been sent when Perseus had led his army into Thessaly and for two years was besieging some Greek cities and alarming others with the threat of attack. At that time, there had been not a word about peace from the Rhodians. After they had heard that the Romans had overcome the passes and crossed into Macedonia, and that Perseus was surrounded, then the Rhodians sent an embassy for no other purpose than to snatch Perseus from the impending disaster. With this reply, the envoys were dismissed.

IV. About the same time Marcus Marcellus, on his return from Spain after taking the noted city of Marcolica, also deposited in the treasury ten pounds[1] of gold and silver of a value of one million sesterces.

As the consul Aemilius Paulus was encamped near Sirae in the Odomantian territory, as was mentioned

[1] The weight of metal is obviously too small for the value given, but it is not easy to propose an emendation. The lb. of silver probably = 336 sesterces; the lb. of gold probably = 4000 sesterces (cf. Vol. XI. 192, note 4). Could *MDC pondo* become *decem pondo* by scribal error? It is perhaps easier to assume the loss of the first figures of the correct number; but the number suggested is of the proper order.

A.U.C. 586

rege Perseo per ignobiles tres legatos ei adlatae sunt. Quos cum flentes ac sordidatos[1] cerneret, et ipse in-
3 lacrimasse dicitur sorti[2] humanae, quod qui paulo ante non contentus regno Macedoniae Dardanos Illyriosque oppugnasset, Bastarnarum adcivisset[3] auxilia, is tum amisso exercitu, extorris regno, in parvam insulam compulsus, supplex, fani religione
4 non viribus suis tutus esset. Sed postquam regem Persea consuli Paulo salutem legit, miserationem omnem stultitia ignorantis fortunam suam exemit.
5 Itaque, quamquam in reliqua parte litterarum minime regiae preces erant, tamen sine responso ac sine litteris ea legatio dimissa est. Sensit Perseus,
6 cuius nominis obliviscendum victo esset; itaque alterae litterae cum privati nominis titulo missae et petiere et impetravere, ut aliqui ad eum mitterentur, cum quibus loqui de statu et condicione suae fortunae
7 posset. Missi sunt tres legati, P. Lentulus, A. Postumius Albinus, A. Antonius. Nihil ea legatione perfectum est, Perseo regium nomen omni vi amplectente, Paulo ut se suaque omnia in fidem et clementiam populi Romani permitteret tendente.[4]

V. Quae[5] dum aguntur, classis Cn. Octavi Samothracam est appulsa. Is quoque praesenti admoto terrore modo minis, modo spe perlicere ut se traderet cum[6] conaretur, adiuvit in hoc eum res seu casu

[1] ei adlatae sunt. Quos cum flentes ac sordidatos *add. H. J. Müller*: *om. V.*
[2] sorti *Vascosanus*: sortis *V.*
[3] adcivisset *J. F. Gronovius*: ciuisse *V.*
[4] et clementiam populi Romani permitteret tendente *Kreyssig*: et pr. permitterecletendente *V.*
[5] Quae *add. Heraeus*: *om. V.*
[6] cum *add. Fr*: *om. V.*





above,[1] despatches from King Perseus were brought B.C. 168
to him by three envoys of no rank. When Paulus perceived them in soiled garb and with tears streaming, it is said that he himself wept for the lot of man, since that king who shortly before, discontented with the kingdom of Macedonia, had attacked the Dardanians and Illyrians and summoned the Bastarnae to his aid, had now lost his army, and, stripped of his kingdom and driven to a small island, was a suppliant, protected by the sanctity of a temple, not by his own powers. But after he read "King Perseus to the Consul Paulus, greeting," the folly of the man who did not realize the state of his fortunes erased all pity. Therefore, although the body of the letter contained entreaties far from royal, yet that embassy was dismissed without an answer and without dispatches. Perseus understood what title the conquered must forget; therefore other dispatches, sent under his name without title, requested and obtained the sending of certain persons with whom he might discuss the status and the terms of his new lot. Three envoys were sent, Publius Lentulus, Aulus Postumius Albinus, and Aulus Antonius. Nothing was accomplished by that embassy, since Perseus clung with all his might to the title of king, while Paulus urged him to entrust himself and all he had to the discretion and mercy of the Roman People.

V. While these negotiations were under way, the fleet of Gnaeus Octavius put in at Samothrace. He too was attempting to entice the king to surrender now by menaces, now by hope, while the threat of force was kept imminent, when a matter brought about either by chance or plan lent him assistance in his

[1] The mention of Sirae has been lost at the end of XLIV.

A.U.C. 586

2 contracta seu consilio. L. Atilius, illustris adulescens,
cum in contione esse populum Samothracum ani-
mum advertisset, a magistratibus petit,[1] ut sibi
paucis adloquendi populi potestatem facerent.
3 Permisso " utrum nos, hospites Samothraces, vere
accepimus an falso sacram hanc insulam et augusti
4 totam atque inviolati soli esse ? " cum creditae sancti-
tati adsentirentur omnes, " cur igitur " inquit
" polluit[2] eam homicida, sanguine regis Eumenis
violavit, et cum omnis praefatio sacrorum[3] eos quibus
non sint purae manus sacris arceat, vos penetralia
vestra contaminari cruento latronis corpore sinetis ? "
5 Nobilis fama erat apud omnes Graeciae civitates
Eumenis regis per Euandrum Delphis prope perpe-
6 trata caedes. Itaque, praeterquam quod in potestate
Romanorum sese insulamque totam et templum
cernebant esse, ne inmerito quidem ea sibi expro-
brari rati, Theondan qui summus magistratus apud
eos erat—regem ipsi appellant—, ad Persea mittunt,
qui nuntiaret argui caedis Euandrum Cretensem;
7 esse autem iudicia apud sese more maiorum com-
parata de iis, qui incestas manus intulisse intra
8 terminos sacratos templi dicantur, si confideret
Euander innoxium se rei capitalis argui, veniret ad
causam dicendam; si committere se iudicio non
auderet, liberaret religione templum ac sibimet ipse
consuleret.

[1] Samothracum animum advertisset, a magistratibus petit *Fr*: samotra crumanimumadversossedadmagistratibuspetit *V*.

[2] polluit *Vahlen*: pollui *V*: pollutam *Fr*: pollutus *Madvig*.

[3] sacrorum *Fr*: rum *V*.

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[1] Described in XLII. xv–xvi.





B.C. 168

undertaking. Lucius Atilius, a prominent young man, noticing that the people of Samothrace were in meeting, requested the magistrates for permission to address the people briefly. Permission being granted, he asked,

" My hosts of Samothrace, is our understanding correct or false that this island is sacred, and all its soil is revered and unprofaned ? " When all agreed that it was as sacred as he believed, he said, " Why then has a murderer polluted it, profaned it with the blood of King Eumenes, and although the preamble to every rite warns away from the holy things those whose hands are not pure, why do you yet permit your sanctuary to be defiled by the blood-stained person of a brigand ? "

The story how Evander had nearly succeeded in murdering King Eumenes at Delphi[1] had been bruited abroad throughout all the cities of Greece. Consequently, the Samothracians decided that, apart from the fact that they saw that they and their whole island and shrine were in the power of the Romans, the reproach against them was a just one. They sent Theondas, the chief magistrate of their community—they call him " king "—to Perseus to announce that Evander the Cretan was being accused of murder; that there was a court of theirs established by ancestral custom to try those who were alleged to have brought unclean hands within the sacred precincts of the temple; and that if Evander trusted that he was innocent of the capital charge brought against him, he should appear to defend himself, whereas, if he dared not entrust himself to the court, he should free the temple of profanation, and provide for his own safety.

A.U.C. 586

9 Perseus sevocato[1] Euandro iudicium subeundi nullo pacto auctor[2] esse: nec causa nec gratia parem fore. Suberat et ille metus, ne damnatus auctorem se nefandi facinoris protraheret. Reliqui[3] quid esse,
10 nisi ut fortiter moriatur? Nihil palam abnuere Euander; sed cum veneno se malle mori quam ferro dixisset, occulte fugam parabat. Quod cum renuntiatum regi esset, metuens, ne tamquam a se subtracto poenae reo iram Samothracum in se con-
11 verteret, interfici Euandrum iussit. Qua perpetrata temere caede subit extemplo animum, in se nimirum receptam labem, quae Euandri fuisset; ab illo Delphis volneratum Eumenen, ab se Samothracae Euandrum occisum; ita duo sanctissima in terris templa se uno auctore sanguine humano violata.
12 Huius rei crimen corrupto pecunia Theonda avertit, ut[4] renuntiaret populo Euandrum sibi ipsum mortem conscisse.

VI. Ceterum tanto facinore in unicum relictum amicum admisso,[5] per tot casus expertum proditumque, quia non prodiderat, omnium ab se abalienavit animos. Pro se quisque transire ad Romanos,
2 fugaeque consilium capere solum prope relictum coegerunt; Oroandem denique[6] Cretensem, cui nota Threciae ora erat quia mercaturas in ea regione fecerat, appellat ut se sublatum in[7] lembum ad

[1] sevocato *Drakenborch*: evocato *V*.
[2] auctor *Fr*: res *V*.
[3] reliqui *Sigonius*: reliquid *V*.
[4] Theonda avertit, ut *Madvig*: Theodonavertiturut *V*.
[5] admisso *Madvig*: amisson *V*.
[6] Oroandem denique *Harant*: oroeandemque *V*: Oroandemque *Fr*:
[7] in *add. Fr*: *om. V*.





Perseus called Evander aside and said that he by no means advised him to stand trial, for he would have neither a good case nor sufficient influence. (Behind his words was the fear that Evander, if condemned, would reveal the king as the sponsor of the abominable crime.) What was there left, said Perseus, except to die bravely? Evander made no open refusal, but saying that he preferred to die by poison rather than the steel, he secretly made ready for escape. When this was reported to the king, he feared that the anger of the Samothracians would turn against him, on the ground that he had caused the guilty party to escape punishment; so he ordered Evander killed. When this murder had been hastily perpetrated, it suddenly occurred to Perseus that he had beyond doubt taken on himself the guilt of Evander. The latter had wounded Eumenes at Delphi, he had killed Evander at Samothrace; and so two of the most sacred shrines on earth had been profaned with human blood at his sole instigation. He turned aside accusation on this score by bribing Theondas to report to the people that Evander had committed suicide. B.C. 168

VI. However, when he committed this terrible crime against his pre-eminent remaining friend, who had been tested in so many vicissitudes and had been betrayed because he had not betrayed the king, Perseus turned all hearts against him. Each one individually deserted to the Romans.

By fleeing they forced the king too, left almost alone, to adopt some plan of flight; finally he appealed to Oroandes the Cretan, who knew the coast of Thrace from having made trading voyages there, to take him aboard a scout-ship and carry him

A.U.C. 586

3 Cotym deveheret. Demetrium est portus in promunturio quodam Samothracae; ibi lembus stabat. Sub occasum solis deferuntur quae ad usum necessaria erant; defertur et pecunia quanta clam deferri
4 poterat. Rex ipse nocte media cum tribus consciis fugae per[1] posticum aedium in propinquum cubiculo hortum atque inde maceriam aegre trans-
5 gressus ad mare pervenit. Oroandes tantum moratus,[2] dum pecunia deferretur, primis tenebris solverat
6 navem ac per altum Cretam petebat. Postquam in portu navis non inventa est, vagatus Perseus aliquamdiu in litore, postremo timens lucem iam adpropinquantem, in hospitium redire non ausus in latere templi prope angulum obscurum delituit.

7 Pueri regii apud Macedonas vocabantur principum liberi ad ministerium electi regis; ea cohors persecuta regem fugientem ne tum quidem abscedebat, donec iussu Cn. Octavi pronuntiatum est per prae-
8 conem regios pueros Macedonasque alios, qui Samothracae essent, si transirent ad Romanos, incolumitatem libertatemque et sua omnia servaturos, quae aut secum haberent[3] aut in Macedonia reliquissent.
9 Ad hanc vocem transitio omnium facta est, nominaque dabant ad C. Postumium tribunum militum. Liberos

[1] per *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[2] moratus *add. Kreyssig*: *om. V*.
[3] quae aut secum haberent *Fr*: haud secum habere *V*.

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[1] A temple of Demeter stood there, cf. below, sec. 6. The temple is mentioned in I.G. XII. 8. The promontory of Kamariotissa marks the site approximately.

[2] Perseus' wife accompanied him, according to Plutarch,





to Cotys. There is a harbour Demetrium on a B.C. 168
certain headland of Samothrace;[1] the scout-ship was anchored there. At sun-down the needful equipment was carried to the shore; all the money that could be brought secretly was also carried down. In the middle of the night, the king himself with three companions of his flight went by a back door of the house into a garden next to his bedroom and thence, after scrambling with difficulty over a wall, reached the sea.[2] Oroandes had waited just long enough for the money to be brought down, and in the early darkness had weighed anchor and was sailing directly for Crete. When the ship was not found at the harbour, Perseus wandered about for some time on the shore and, finally, fearing the imminent approach of dawn, did not dare to return to the house where he was entertained, but took cover near an out-of-the-way corner on one side of the temple.

Among the Macedonians there were Royal Pages,[3] so-called, sons of the chief men chosen to wait upon the king; this troop, having accompanied the king in his flight had not even then left him, until by order of Gnaeus Octavius, announcement was made by a herald that if the Royal Pages and the other Macedonians who were in Samothrace surrendered to the Romans, they would secure their safety, their freedom, and all their possessions which they either had with them, or had left in Macedonia. At this word, they all made their way to the Romans, and reported their names to Gaius Postumius, a military tribune. The king's young children were also handed over to

*Aemilius* xxvi, and was one of the causes of delay, being quite unathletic.

[3] These pages are also described by Curtius VIII. vi. 2.

A.U.C. 586

quoque parvos regios Ion Thessalonicensis Octavio tradidit, nec quisquam praeter Philippum, maximum
10 natu e [1] filiis, cum rege relictus. Tum sese filiumque Octavio tradidit, fortunam deosque, quorum in templo erat,[2] nulla ope supplicem iuvantis accusans.
11 In praetoriam navem imponi iussus, eodem et pecunia quae superfuit delata est; extemploque classis
12 Amphipolim repetit. Inde Octavius regem in castra ad consulem misit praemissis litteris, ut in potestate eum esse et adduci sciret.

VII. Secundam eam Paulus, sicut erat, victoriam ratus victimas cecidit eo nuntio, et consilio advocato litteras [3] praetoris cum recitasset, Q. Aelium Tuberonem obviam regi misit, ceteros manere in praetorio
2 frequentis iussit. Non alias ad ullum spectaculum tanta multitudo occurrit. Patrum aetate Syphax rex captus in castra Romana adductus erat; praeterquam quod nec sua nec gentis fama comparandus, tantum accessio [4] Punici belli fuerat, sicut Gentius
3 Macedonici; Perseus caput belli erat, nec ipsius tantum patris avique ceterorumque,[5] quos sanguine et [6] genere contingebat, fama conspectum eum efficiebat, sed effulgebant Philippus ac magnus Alexander, qui summum imperium in orbe terrarum
4 Macedonum fecerant. Pullo amictu cum filio [7]

[1] natu e *Kreyssig*: natum et *V*.
[2] quorum in templo erat *Drakenborch*: quorum tĕ ploerant-nullotemplo *V*: quorum templum erat *J. F. Gronovius*: quorum in templo erant, nulla tutela *Gitlbauer*.
[3] litteras *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[4] tantum accessio *Giarratano*: tunc quod nec sua accessio *V*: tunc quoque accessio *Fr*: etiam quod accessio *Harant*.
[5] ceterorumque *add. Madvig*: *om. V*.
[6] et *Hartel*: at *V*.
[7] amictu cum filio *Graevius*: amictus illo *V*.





Octavius by Ion of Thessalonica, and no one was left with the king except Philip, his oldest son. Then Perseus surrendered himself and his son to Octavius, railing at his fortune and the gods in whose temple he was, who had done nothing to aid their suppliant.[1] He was ordered to be placed in the flagship, and what was left of the money was brought there. The fleet immediately sailed back to Amphipolis. Thence Octavius sent the king to the consul's camp, sending ahead dispatches to inform the consul that the king was a prisoner and was being brought to him. B.C. 168

VII. Thinking that this was a second victory, as indeed it was, Paulus offered sacrifice at this message; he read the letter of the praetor before his assembled council, sent Quintus Aelius Tubero [2] to meet the king, and ordered the others to remain in full numbers at headquarters. So great a crowd never gathered elsewhere for any sight. In the previous generation King Syphax [3] had been brought as prisoner into a Roman camp, but apart from the fact that he was not comparable either as to his own reputation or that of his nation, he was a mere appendage to the war with Carthage, as Gentius was to this one with Macedonia. Perseus was the chief enemy, and not only his own reputation and that of his father, grandfather, and the rest to whom he was related by blood and stock made him a cynosure, but the glory of Philip and Alexander the Great, who made the Macedonians masters of the world, radiated

[1] Diodorus XXIX. 28 points out that he had forfeited his claim on the gods by his disloyalty toward his brother.
[2] The son-in-law of Paulus, according to Plutarch, *Aemilius* v.
[3] His story is told in XXX. xiii.

A.U.C. 586 Perseus ingressus est castra nullo suorum alio comite, qui socius calamitatis miserabiliorem eum faceret. Progredi prae turba occurrentium ad spectaculum non poterat, donec a consule lictores missi sunt,[1] qui
5 summoto iter ad praetorium facerent. Consurrexit consul iussis[2] sedere aliis progressusque paulum introeunti regi dextram porrexit summittentemque se ad pedes sustulit nec attingere genua passus introductum in tabernaculum adversus advocatos in consilium considere iussit.

VIII. Prima percontatio fuit, qua subactus iniuria contra populum Romanum bellum tam infesto animo suscepisset, quo se regnumque suum ad ultimum
2 discrimen adduceret? Cum responsum expectantibus cunctis terram intuens diu tacitus fleret,
3 rursus[3] consul: "si iuvenis regnum accepisses, minus equidem mirarer ignorasse te, quam gravis aut
4 amicus aut inimicus esset populus Romanus; nunc vero, cum et bello patris tui quod nobiscum gessit interfuisses, et pacis postea, quam cum summa fide adversus eum coluimus, meminisses, quod fuit consilium,[4] quorum et vim in[5] bello et fidem in pace expertus esses, cum iis tibi bellum esse quam pacem malle?"
5 Nec interrogatus nec accusatus cum responderet, "utcumque tamen haec, sive errore humano seu casu seu necessitate inciderunt, bonum animum habe.

[1] missi sunt *Madvig*: misissent *V*.
[2] consul iussis *Luterbacher*: consul et iussis *V*.
[3] rursus *Wesenberg*: iussu *V*.
[4] meminisses, quod fuit consilium *Madvig*: meminisset consilium *V*.
[5] in *add. Drakenborch*: *om. V*.





from him. Perseus entered the camp in dark- B.C. 168 coloured garb, with his son, but unattended by any other of his people whose presence as a sharer of his downfall might have made him more pitiable. He was unable to proceed because of the crowd rushing to gaze at him, until lictors were sent by the consul to clear a path to the headquarters. The consul rose to meet him, though he ordered the others to keep their seats, and advancing a few steps offered his hand to the king as he entered, raised him when he fell at his feet, not allowing him to clasp his knees, brought him into the tent, and bade him be seated opposite the officers called as council.

VIII. The first question put was, by what wrong had he been driven to make war on the Roman People with such determined enmity as to bring himself and his kingdom into utmost danger? While all awaited an answer, he gazed silently at the ground for a long time and wept.

Then the consul asked again: "If you had received the kingdom as a young man, I should indeed be less surprised that you were unaware how powerful the Roman People is as a friend or as an enemy. As it is, since you had a part in the war which your father waged with us, and since you were aware of the peace that followed, which we observed with the utmost faithfulness toward him, what reasoning led you to prefer war rather than peace with men whose power in war, whose good faith in peace, you had alike tested?"

When no reply either to the question or the accusation was forthcoming, the consul continued, "However that may be, whether it has occurred through human mistake or chance or law of nature, be of good

A.U.C. 586 Multorum regum populorumque[1] casibus cognita
populi Romani clementia non modo spem tibi, sed
prope certam fiduciam salutis praebet."
6 Haec Graeco sermone Perseo; Latine deinde suis
"exemplum insigne cernitis" inquit "mutationis
rerum humanarum. Vobis hoc praecipue dico,
iuvenes. Ideo in secundis rebus nihil in quemquam
superbe ac violenter consulere decet nec praesenti
credere fortunae, cum quid vesper ferat incertum sit.
7 Is demum vir erit, cuius animum neque prosperae res
flatu[2] suo efferent[3] nec adversae infringent."
8 Consilio dimisso tuendi cura regis Q. Aelio man-
datur. Eo die et invitatus ad consulem Perseus et
alius omnis ei honos habitus est, qui haberi in tali
fortuna poterat.
Exercitus deinde in hiberna dimissus est. IX.
Maximam partem copiarum Amphipolis, reliquas pro-
pinquae urbes acceperunt.
2 Hic finis belli, cum quadriennium continuum bella-
tum esset, inter Romanos ac Persea fuit idemque finis
incluti per Europae plerumque atque Asiam omnem
3 regni. Vicensimum ab Carano, qui primus regnabat,
Persea numerabant. Perseus Q. Fulvio L.[4] Manlio
consulibus regnum accepit, a senatu rex est appellatus
M. Iunio A. Manlio consulibus; regnavit undecim
4 annos. Macedonum gens[5] obscura admodum fama

[1] populorumque *H. J. Müller*: populorum *V.*
[2] prosperae res flatu *Wesenberg*: prospere flatu *V.*
[3] efferent *Madvig*: efferet *V.*
[4] L. *add. Fr*: *om. V.*
[5] gens *add. Madvig*: *om. V.*

[1] Justinus XXXIII. 2. 6 says the thirtieth king, Eusebius (Schöne I, col. 242), the thirty-ninth. Herodotus VIII. 138, names Perdiccas as the founder of the dynasty.





cheer. The misfortunes of many kings and of many peoples have shown that the mercy of the Roman People offers you not only hope, but an almost positive assurance of safety." B.C. 168

This the consul said in Greek to Perseus; then he continued in Latin to his staff: "You see before you a notable example of the changefulness of human affairs. I say this especially for you, young men. Therefore it is proper to offer no insult or violence to anyone, while one is in favourable circumstances, and not to trust to one's present fortune, since no one knows what evening will bring. He will be truly a man, in a word, whose spirit is neither deflected from its course by the breath of prosperity, nor broken by misfortune."

When the meeting was dismissed, the task of guarding the king was assigned to Quintus Aelius. On that day Perseus was entertained by the consul, and every other token of respect was shown him which could be shown under such circumstances.

The army was then released to winter quarters. IX. Amphipolis received most of the troops, the nearby cities the rest.

This was the end of the war between the Romans and Perseus, after four years of steady campaigning, and also the end of a kingdom famed over a large part of Europe and all of Asia. They reckoned Perseus as the twentieth after Caranus, who founded the kingdom.[1] Perseus ascended the throne in the consulship of Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius, and was recognized as king by the senate in the consulship of Marcus Junius and Aulus Manlius; his reign lasted eleven years. The Macedonian nation was of no great reputation until the time of

A.U.C. 586
usque ad Philippum, Amyntae filium, fuit; inde ac
per eum crescere cum coepisset, Europae se tamen
finibus continuit, Graeciam omnem et partem
5 Threciae atque Illyrici amplexa. Superfudit deinde
se in Asiam, et tredecim annis, quibus Alexander
regnavit, primum omnia, qua Persarum prope im-
menso spatio imperium fuerat, suae dicionis fecit;
6 Arabas hinc Indiamque, qua terrarum ultimos[1] finis
7 rubrum mare amplectitur, peragravit. Tum maxi-
mum in[2] terris Macedonum regnum nomenque;
inde morte Alexandri distractum in multa regna, dum
ad se quisque opes rapiunt, laceratis viribus[3] a summo
culmine fortunae ad ultimum finem centum quin-
quaginta annos stetit.

X. Victoriae Romanae fama cum pervasisset in
Asiam, Antenor, qui cum classe lemborum ad Phanas
2 stabat, Cassandriam inde traeicit. C. Popilius, qui
ad Delum[4] in praesidio navibus Macedoniam
petentibus erat, postquam debellatum in Mace-
donia et statione summotos hostium lembos audivit,
dimissis et ipse Attali[5] navibus ad susceptam lega-
3 tionem peragendam navigare Aegyptum pergit, ut
prius occurrere Antiocho posset quam ad Alexandreae
4 moenia accederet. Cum praeterveherentur Asiam
legati et Loryma[6] venissent, qui portus viginti paulo
amplius milia ab Rhodo abest, ex adverso urbi ipsi

[1] ultimos *J. F. Gronovius*: ultimus *V*.
[2] in *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[3] laceratis viribus *J. F. Gronovius*: lacereā lesuiribus *V*.
[4] ad Delum *Fr*: delun *V*.
[5] Attali *sive* Attalicis *Luterbacher*: adticis *V*: Asiaticis *Harant*: adventiciis *Madvig*.
[6] Loryma *Fr*: loriam *V*.





Philip, son of Amyntas. Later, when it had proceeded to expand under him, it was still confined within the bounds of Europe, though embracing all Greece and part of Thrace and Illyricum. Thereafter it overflowed into Asia, and Alexander, in the thirteen years of his reign, first brought under his sway all the well-nigh boundless empire that had belonged to the Persians, and then traversed Arabia and India, where the Indian Ocean embraces the uttermost ends of the earth. At that time the empire and name of the Macedonians was greatest on earth; thereafter at the death of Alexander it was torn into many kingdoms, as each leader snatched at resources for his own account, and its strength was dismembered; yet it endured for a hundred and fifty years[1] from the topmost pinnacle of its fortune to its final end. B.C. 168

X. When a report of the Roman victory penetrated to Asia, Antenor, who was lying off Phanae with his fleet of scout-ships, crossed from there to Cassandria.[2] When Gaius Popilius, who was at Delos to protect ships making for Macedonia, heard that the war had been brought to an end in Macedonia and that the enemy scout-ships had left their post, he for his part dismissed the ships of Attalus and proceeded to sail for Egypt to complete the mission on which he had started, so that he might be able to meet Antiochus before he reached the walls of Alexandria. As the ambassadors were sailing past Asia and came to Loryma, a harbour slightly more than twenty miles from Rhodes and situated

[1] Polybius XXIX. 21 (6c) gives this figure; it was 155 years from the death of Alexander.
[2] This naval activity was described in XLIV. xxix. 1–5.

A.U.C. 586
5 positus, principes Rhodiorum occurrunt—iam enim
eo quoque victoriae fama perlata erat—orantes, ut
Rhodum deveherentur: pertinere id ad famam
salutemque civitatis, noscere ipsos omnia quae acta
essent quaeque[1] agerentur Rhodi, et comperta per
6 se, non volgata fama Romam referre. Diu negantes
pepulerunt, ut moram navigationis brevem pro salute
sociae urbis paterentur. Postquam Rhodum ventum
est, in contionem quoque eos iidem precibus pertra-
7 xerunt. Adventus legatorum auxit potius timorem
civitati quam minuit; omnia enim Popilius quae
singuli universique eo bello hostiliter dixerant
8 fecerantque rettulit, et vir asper ingenio augebat
atrocitatem eorum quae dicerentur voltu truci et
9 accusatoria voce, ut, cum propriae simultatis nulla
causa cum civitate ei[2] esset, ex unius senatoris
Romani acerbitate, qualis in se universi senatus
animus esset, coniectarent.

10 C. Decimi moderatior oratio fuit,[3] qui in plerisque
eorum quae commemorata a Popilio essent culpam
non penes populum, sed penes paucos concitores volgi
11 esse dixit: eos venalem linguam habentis decreta
plena regiae adsentationis fecisse et eas legationes
misisse, quarum Rhodios semper non minus puderet
quam paeniteret. Quae omnia, si sana mens[4] populo
foret, in capita noxiorum versura.

[1] quaeque *Madvig*: q. *V*.
[2] civitate ei *Harant*: civitates *V*.
[3] coniectarent. C. Decimi moderatior oratio fuit, qui *Fr*: coniectarentur cum Decimi moderatio fuitque *V*.
[4] sana mens *Weissenborn*: tamen *V*.

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[1] On the peninsula northward from Rhodes; mentioned by Thucydides VIII. 43, and Strabo XIV. ii. 4 and 14 (652, 655).





exactly opposite to the city,[1] the chief men of Rhodes met them (for the report of the victory had by now been brought to that city also) with the request that they put in at Rhodes; for, said the Rhodians, it was a matter touching the reputation and safety of their city that the envoys should personally become acquainted with everything which had been done and was being done at Rhodes, and that they should carry back to Rome facts ascertained by themselves, not popular rumours. After many refusals, they induced the envoys to endure a short delay of their voyage for the sake of the safety of an allied city. After their arrival at Rhodes, the same leaders also dragged them by entreaty before an assembly. The arrival of the envoys increased rather than diminished the fear of the city; for Popilius rehearsed every hostile word or act during this war either on the part of individuals or of the commonwealth, and being a man of harsh temperament, he increased the savage effect of his remarks by his grim face and prosecutor's tone, so that, since he had no reason for a personal quarrel with Rhodes, the people guessed from the bitterness of one Roman senator what the attitude of the whole senate was toward them. B.C. 168

The speech of Gaius Decimius was milder, for he laid the blame for many of the offences mentioned by Popilius not at the door of the people as a whole, but at that of a few agitators; these, he said, whose tongues were for sale, had written the decrees full of fawning upon the king and had sent those embassies concerning which the Rhodians had always felt as much shame as regret. All these acts, said Decimius, would, if the people's reason was sound, recoil upon the heads of the guilty.

A.U.C. 586

12 Cum magno adsensu auditus est, non magis eo quod multitudinem noxa levabat quam quod culpam
13 in auctores verterat. Itaque cum principes Rhodiorum Romanis responderent, nequaquam tam[1] grata oratio eorum fuit qui quae Popilius obiecerat diluere utcumque conati sunt, quam eorum qui Decimio in auctoribus ad piaculum noxae obiciendis adsensi sunt.
14 Decretum igitur extemplo ut qui pro Perseo adversus Romanos dixisse quid aut fecisse convincerentur, capitis[2] condemnarentur. Excesserant[3] urbe sub adventum[4] Romanorum quidam, alii mortem sibi
15 consciverunt. Legati non ultra quam quinque dies Rhodi morati Alexandream proficiscuntur. Nec eo segnius iudicia ex decreto coram iis[5] facto Rhodii exercebant;[6] quam perseverantiam in exsequenda re tam Decimi lenitas quam Popili effecerat asperitas.[7]

XI. Cum[8] haec gererentur, Antiochus frustra temptatis moenibus Alexandreae abscesserat ceteraque Aegypto potitus, relicto Memphi maiore Ptolemaeo, cui[9] regnum quaeri suis viribus simulabat, ut victorem mox adgrederetur, in Syriam exercitum
2 abduxit. Nec huius voluntatis eius ignarus Ptolemaeus, dum conterritum obsidionis metu minorem fratrem haberet, posse se recipi Alexandreae et

[1] tam *Doering*: tamentam *V*.
[2] capitis *Fr*: facilisocapitis *C*.
[3] excesserant *Madvig*: excesserunt *V*.
[4] adventum *Bas*: adventu *V*.
[5] iis *Wesenberg*: hi *V*.
[6] facto Rhodii exercebant *Vahlen*: facti Rhodii exercebantur *V*.
[7] perseverantiam in exsequenda re tam Decimi lenitas quam Popili effecerat asperitas *H. J. Müller*: perseverabant tam in exsequenda re tam Decimae lenitas quam *V*.
[8] Cum *add. Fr*: *om. V*.





There was great approval felt for his speech, but no more because he relieved the commons of blame than because he assigned responsibility to the guilty. And so when the leaders of the Rhodians answered the Romans, their speeches were by no means as pleasing when the speaker tried at all costs to extenuate the charges made by Popilius, as when he agreed with Decimius in urging that the responsible persons should expiate their wrong. A decree was therefore passed at once that anyone convicted of saying or doing anything against the Romans in behalf of Perseus should be put to death. Some had left the city on the arrival of the Romans, others committed suicide. After a delay of not more than five days at Rhodes, the ambassadors left for Alexandria. The Rhodians proceeded no less zealously to prosecute trials according to the decree passed in the presence of the Romans. This unflagging zeal in carrying the matter out was produced as much by the mildness of Decimius as by the harshness of Popilius. B.C. 168

XI. While this was going on, Antiochus had left Alexandria after an unsuccessful trial of the fortifications and had taken control of the rest of Egypt. He left at Memphis the elder Ptolemy[1] whose claim to the throne he was pretending to support with his army, in order that he might attack the winner presently, and led his army off into Syria. Ptolemy was well aware of this ulterior motive too, and thought that, as long as his younger brother was cowed by fear of a siege, he might be restored to Alexandria

[1] *I.e.*, Ptolemy VI Philometor; the younger was Euergetes II.

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[9] potitus, relicto Memphi maiore Ptolemaeo, cui *Fr*: petitusrelio tutemplimatioremptolemeocum *V*.

A.U.C. 586
sorore adiuvante et non repugnantibus fratris amicis
3 ratus primum ad sororem, deinde ad fratrem [1] ami-
cosque eius non prius destitit mittere, quam pacem
4 cum iis confirmaret. Suspectum Antiochum effece-
rat, quod cetera Aegypto sibi tradita Pelusi [2] validum
5 relictum erat praesidium. Apparebat claustra
Aegypti teneri, ut, cum vellet,[3] rursus exercitum
induceret; bello intestino cum fratre eum exitum
fore, ut victor fessus certamine nequaquam par
6 Antiocho futurus esset. Haec prudenter ani-
madversa a maiore cum adsensu minor frater quique
cum eo erant acceperunt; soror plurimum adiuvit
7 non consilio modo, sed etiam precibus. Itaque
consentientibus cunctis pace facta Alexandream
recipitur, ne multitudine quidem adversante, quae in
bello non per obsidionem modo, sed etiam postquam
a moenibus abscessum est, quia nihil ex Aegypto
subvehebatur, omnium rerum adtenuata inopia erat.
8 His cum laetari Antiochum conveniens esset, si
reducendi [4] eius causa exercitum Aegyptum induxis-
set, quo specioso titulo ad omnis Asiae et Graeciae
civitates legationibus recipiendis litterisque dimit-
tendis usus erat, adeo est offensus ut multo acrius
infestiusque adversus duos quam ante adversus unum
9 pararet bellum. Cyprum extemplo classem misit;

[1] fratrem *Fr*: patres *V*.
[2] Pelusi *Fr*: peculisi *V*.
[3] vellet *J. P. Gronovius*: velit *V*.
[4] esset, si reducendi *Fr*: essetiretiretducendi *V*.

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[1] Who had proclaimed the younger brother king.
[2] Of 168 B.C.; he had made preparations in 171, XLII. xxix. 5; the first invasion was in 170, the reconciliation of the brothers presumably in 169 B.C. Polybius, on whom Livy based





with the aid of his sister and without opposition on B.C. 168
the part of his brother's friends. He therefore kept sending, first to his sister, then to his brother and his friends, until he made an amicable settlement with them. Suspicion was directed against Antiochus because, though he had turned over the rest of Egypt to Ptolemy, he had left a strong garrison at Pelusium. It was evident that the key to Egypt was in Antiochus' hands, so that he could reinvade it when he wished. The upshot of a civil war between the brothers would be that the winner, worn out by the struggle, would be no match for Antiochus. This wise reasoning by the elder brother was gratefully accepted by the younger brother and his associates; the sister gave much assistance not only by her advice, but by her entreaties. Accordingly, peace was made by general agreement, and the elder Ptolemy returned to Alexandria, without opposition even on the part of the mob,[1] which had suffered throughout the war from a scarcity of all supplies not only during the siege, but after the enemy had left the walls, because nothing came in from Egypt.

It would have been in order for Antiochus to rejoice at this conclusion had he led his army into Egypt for the purpose of restoring Ptolemy—the specious plea that he had employed in statements to all the states of Asia and Greece either when he received embassies or sent out messages. But he was so incensed that he prepared for war against the two brothers with much more urgency and bitterness than against the one. He immediately sent a fleet to Cyprus; and in early spring [2] he himself advanced

this account, records these events in XXVIII. 19–23; XXIX. 23 (8). 26–7 (7a, 11).

A.U.C. 586

ipse primo vere cum exercitu Aegyptum petens in
10 Coelen Syriam processit. Circa Rhinocolura [1] Ptolemaei legatis agentibus gratias, quod per eum regnum patrium recepisset, petentibusque ut suum munus tueretur et diceret potius quid fieri vellet quam hostis ex socio factus vi atque armis ageret,
11 respondit non aliter neque classem revocaturum neque exercitum reducturum, nisi sibi et tota Cypro et Pelusio agroque, qui circa Pelusiacum ostium Nili esset, cederetur,[2] diemque praestituit intra quam de condicionibus peractis responsum acciperet.

XII. Postquam dies data indutiis praeteriit, navigantibus ostio Nili [3] ad Pelusium praefectis ipse [4] per deserta Arabiae est profectus receptusque et ab
2 iis, qui [5] ad Memphim incolebant, et ab ceteris Aegyptiis, partim voluntate partim metu, ad Alex-
3 andream modicis itineribus descendit. Ad Eleusinem [6] transgresso flumen, qui locus quattuor milia ab Alexandrea abest, legati Romani occurrerunt.
4 Quos cum advenientis salutasset dextramque Popilio porrigeret, tabellas [7] ei Popilius senatus consultum [8] scriptum habentis tradit atque omnium primum id
5 legere iubet. Quibus perlectis cum se consideraturum adhibitis amicis quid faciendum sibi esset dixisset, Popilius pro cetera asperitate animi virga

[1] Rhinocolura *Fr*: rinocarala *V*.
[2] cederetur *Bekker*: cederet *V*.
[3] Nili *Fr*: nihil *V*.
[4] praefectis ipse *add. H. J. Müller*: *om. V*.
[5] est profectus receptusque et ab iis, qui *add. H. J. Müller*: *om. V*.
[6] Eleusinem *Turnebus*: leunsinem *V*.
[7] porrigeret, tabellas *Fr*: pollicereturabellas *V*.





B.C. 168

with his army into Hollow Syria on his way to Egypt. Near Rhinocolura envoys from Ptolemy met him, offering thanks for his assistance in recovering Ptolemy's ancestral throne and requesting that he should not undo his act of kindness and rather say what he wanted done than shift from ally to enemy and act by force of arms. Antiochus replied that he would recall his fleet and lead back his army on no other terms than the cession to him of all Cyprus, Pelusium, and the region which lies around the Pelusian mouth of the Nile. He also named a day before which he must receive the report of the execution of his terms.

XII. After the time allotted for the truce had expired, Antiochus' officers sailed to Pelusium via the mouth of the Nile, while he marched through the Arabian Desert and, after being received by the inhabitants of Memphis and the rest of the Egyptians, partly through good-will and partly through fear, he came down to Alexandria by short marches.[1] When he had crossed the river at Eleusis, a place four miles away from Alexandria, the Roman envoys met him. As they approached, he greeted them and offered his hand to Popilius; whereat Popilius handed him the tablets containing the decree of the senate in writing, and bade him read this first of all. On reading the decree, he said that he would call in his friends and consider what he should do; Popilius, in accordance with the usual harshness of his temper,

[1] Antiochus crowned himself king of Egypt, and issued coins in that capacity, see Naphtali Lewis, *Classical Philology* 44 (1949), pp. 32–3.

[8] senatus consultum *add. Schweighauser*: *om. V*.

A.U.C. 586 quam in manu gerebat circumscripsit regem ac "priusquam hoc circulo excedas" inquit "redde
6 responsum, senatui quod referam." Obstupefactus tam violento imperio parumper cum haesitasset, "faciam" inquit "quod censet senatus." Tum demum Popilius dextram[1] regi tamquam socio atque amico porrexit.

7 Die deinde finita cum excessisset Aegypto Antiochus, legati concordia etiam auctoritate sua inter fratres firmata, inter quos vixdum convenerat pax,[2] Cyprum navigant et inde, quae iam vicerat proelio
8 Aegyptias naves, classem Antiochi dimittunt. Clara ea per gentis legatio fuit, quod haud dubie adempta Antiocho Aegyptus habenti iam redditumque patrium regnum stirpi Ptolemaei fuerat.

9 Consulum eius anni sicut alterius clarus consulatus insigni victoria, ita alterius obscura fama, quia ma-
10 teriam res gerendi non habuit. Iam primum cum legionibus ad conveniendum diem edixit,[3] non auspicato templum intravit. Vitio diem[4] dictam esse augures, cum ad eos relatum esset,[5] decreverunt.
11 Profectus in Galliam circa Macros campos ad montis Siciminam et Papinum stativa habuit; deinde circa eadem loca cum sociis nominis Latini hibernabat;

[1] dextram *Fr*: senatum dextram *V*.
[2] pax *I. Perizonius*: pars *V*.
[3] diem edixit *Luterbacher*: dixit *V*.
[4] intravit. Vitio diem *Fr*: intui tiodiem *V*.
[5] esset *Madvig*: est *V*.

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[1] According to Polybius XXIX. 27. 10, this victory of Antiochus' forces was on land.





drew a circle around the king with a rod that he B.C. 168 carried in his hand, and said, "Before you step out of this circle, give me an answer which I may take back to the senate." After the king had hesitated a moment, struck dumb by so violent an order, he replied, "I shall do what the senate decrees." Only then did Popilius extend his hand to the king as to an ally and friend.

Later, when Antiochus had quitted Egypt by the appointed day, and the envoys had also confirmed by their own weighty approval the agreement of the brothers, who with great difficulty had settled on terms of peace, the Romans sailed for Cyprus, whence they sent away the fleet of Antiochus which had already defeated the Egyptian ships in battle.[1] This embassy gained a great reputation among the nations, because Egypt had clearly been taken away from Antiochus after he had possession of it, and their ancestral kingdom had been restored to the House of Ptolemy.

The term of one of the consuls of this year was distinguished by a notable victory; the reputation of the other was correspondingly undistinguished, because he did not have the wherewithal for achievement. At the very outset, when he proclaimed a day for his legions to assemble, he entered the sacred enclosure[2] without taking the auspices. When the augurs were consulted on this matter, they declared that the day had been wrongfully set. The consul set out for Gaul, and had a fixed camp near Campi Macri[3] close to Mounts Sicimina and Papinus. Later he spent the winter in the same region with

[2] Perhaps a special one laid out for this ceremony.
[3] Also mentioned above, XLI. xviii. 5–6.

A.U.C. 586 12 legiones Romanae, quod vitio dies exercitui ad conveniendum dicta erat, Romae manserant.

13 Et praetores praeter C. Papirium Carbonem, cui Sardinia evenerat, in provincias iere. Eum ius[1] dicere Romae—nam eam quoque sortem habebat—inter cives et peregrinos patres censuerant.

XIII. Et Popilius et ea legatio, quae missa ad Antiochum erat, Romam redit; rettulit controversias inter reges sublatas esse exercitumque ex Aegypto
2 in Syriam reductum. Post ipsorum regum legati venerunt; Antiochi legati referentes omni victoria potiorem pacem regi, senatui quae placuisset, visam,[2] eumque haud secus quam deorum imperio legatorum Romanorum iussis paruisse; gratulati[3] dein de
3 victoria sunt, quam ope sua,[4] si quid imperatum foret, adiuturum[5] regem fuisse.

4 Ptolemaei legati communi nomine regis et Cleo-
5 patrae gratias egerunt; plus eos senatui populoque Romano quam parentibus suis, plus quam diis immortalibus debere, per quos obsidione miserrima liberati essent, regnum patrium prope amissum recepissent.

[1] eum ius *Fr*: eumdumius *V*.
[2] victoria potiorem pacem regi, senatui quae placuisset, visam *Bekker*: victoriā potiorempaceregisenatuiqueplacuissetvisa *V*.
[3] gratulati *Kreyssig*: legati *V*.
[4] sua *add. Madvig*: *om. V*.
[5] adiuturum *Kreyssig*: adfuturum *V*.

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[1] Anicius, the commander in Illyricum, had first been assigned as *praetor peregrinus*. The praetor for Sardinia was often assigned to special tasks (cf. XXXIX. xxxviii. 3; XL. xxxvii. 4; xliii. 2), while his predecessor, in this case P. Fonteius Capito (cf. XLIII. xv. 3), continued in office; see also below, xvi. 4.





the allies of the Latin Name; the Roman legions had remained at Rome, because the day for the assembly of the army was wrongfully appointed. B.C. 168

The praetors also went to their provinces, except Gaius Papirius Carbo, to whom Sardinia had fallen. The senate decreed that he should conduct at Rome the court for suits between citizens and aliens, for this also had been allotted to him.[1]

XIII. Popilius, too, and the embassy which had been sent to Antiochus returned to Rome. They reported that the disputes between the kings had been settled and the army led out of Egypt into Syria. Afterwards the envoys of the kings themselves arrived. Antiochus' envoys reported that to the king peace had seemed preferable to any conquest, since it was the wish of the senate, and that Antiochus had obeyed the orders of the Roman envoys as if they had been gods. Then they presented congratulations on the victory, to which the king would have contributed his aid, they said, if any demand had been made upon him.

Ptolemy's envoys[2] offered thanks in the names of the king and Cleopatra together; they owed, they said, more to the Roman senate and people than to their own parents, more than to the immortal gods, since they had been freed by the Romans from a most wretched state of siege, and had recovered the ancestral kingdom which they had almost lost.

[2] The embassy was from both Ptolemies, according to Polybius XXX. 16.

A.U.C. 586

6 Responsum [1] ab senatu est Antiochum recte atque
ordine fecisse, quod legatis paruisset, gratumque id
7 esse senatui populoque Romano; regibus Aegypti,
Ptolemaeo Cleopatraeque. si quid per se boni com-
modique evenisset, id magno opere senatum laetari,
daturumque operam, ut regni sui maximum semper
praesidium positum esse in fide populi Romani ducant.
8 Munera legatis ut ex instituto mittenda curaret, C.
9 Papirio praetori mandatum. Litterae deinde e [2]
Macedonia allatae, quae victoriae laetitiam gemina-
rent: Persea regem in potestatem consulis venisse.
10 Dimissis legatis regiis [3] disceptatum inter Pisanos
Lunensesque legatos est,[4] Pisanis querentibus agro se
a colonis Romanis pelli, Lunensibus adfirmantibus
eum, de quo agatur, ab triumviris [5] agrum sibi adsi-
11 gnatum esse. Senatus, qui de finibus cognoscerent
statuerentque, quinque viros misit Q. Fabium Buteo-
nem, P. Cornelium Blasionem, T. Sempronium
Muscam, L. Naevium Balbum, C. Apuleium
Saturninum.
12 Et ab Eumene et ab Attalo et ab Athenaeo fratri-
bus communis legatio de victoria gratulatum venit.
Et Masgabae, regis Masinissae filio, Puteolis nave
egresso praesto fuit obviam missus cum pecunia L.
Manlius quaestor, qui Romam eum publico sumptu

[1] recepissent. Responsum *add. Fr*: *om. V.*
[2] e *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om. V.*
[3] regiis *add. Heraeus*: *om. V.*
[4] est *Vahlen*: et *V.*
[5] triumviris *Kreyssig*: utrumviris *V.*

[1] The colony at Luna was established in 177 B.C., see XLI. xiii. 5. Luna at this time was reckoned as belonging to Cisalpine Gaul, the boundary of Italy proper running between it and Pisa; in earlier times it had been Etruscan.





The senate's reply to Antiochus was that he had done what was right and proper in obeying the envoys, and that the Roman senate and people were pleased. To the king and queen of Egypt, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, the reply was that the senate was very happy if by its agency something good and beneficial had come to pass, and that the senate would use its best efforts to convince them that the greatest bulwark of their reign was founded on the good faith of the Roman people. Instructions were given to Gaius Papirius the praetor that he should see that the customary presents were sent to the envoys. Despatches from Macedonia were then introduced, calculated to redouble the rejoicing over the victory; they reported that King Perseus was a prisoner of the consul. B.C. 168

After the royal embassies were dismissed, a dispute was heard between envoys from Pisa and from Luna.[1] The Pisans complained that Roman colonists were driving them off their land, whereas the men of Luna declared that the land in question had been assigned to them by the board of three. The senate sent five men to investigate the facts about the boundary and make a decision, namely, Quintus Fabius Buteo, Publius Cornelius Blasio, Titus Sempronius Musca, Lucius Naevius Balbus, and Gaius Apuleius Saturninus.

From the brothers Eumenes, Attalus, and Athenaeus a joint embassy of congratulation on the victory arrived.[2] When Masgaba, too, the son of King Masinissa, landed from his ship at Puteoli, he was met by Lucius Manlius the quaestor who had been sent with money to meet him, to escort him at

[2] Perhaps the same as the embassy mentioned below, xix.

A.U.C. 586 13 perduceret. Advenienti extemplo senatus datus est. Ibi [1] adulescens ita locutus est ut quae rebus grata erant gratiora verbis faceret. Commemoravit, quot pedites equitesque, quot elephantos, quantum frumenti eo quadriennio pater suus in Macedoniam
14 misisset; [2] duas res ei rubori fuisse, unam, quod rogasset eum per legatos senatus, quae ad bellum opus essent,[3] et non imperasset, alteram, quod
15 pecuniam ei pro frumento misisset. Masinissam meminisse se [4] regnum a populo Romano partum auctumque et multiplicatum habere; usu regni contentum scire dominium et ius eorum, qui dederint,
16 esse. Sumere itaque eos de se,[5] non rogare aequom esse, neque emere ea ex fructibus agri ab se dati quae ibi proveniant. Id Masinissae satis esse et
17 fore, quod populo Romano superesset. Cum iis mandatis a patre profectum postea consecutos equites, qui devictam Macedoniam nuntiarent gratularique [6] senatui iuberent et indicare ita eam [7] rem laetitiae patri suo esse, ut Romam venire velit Iovique optimo maximo in Capitolio sacrificare et grates agere; id, nisi molestum sit, ut ei permittatur, ab senatu petere.

XIV. Responsum regulo est facere patrem eius Masinissam, quod virum gratum bonumque facere

[1] ibi *Weissenborn*: is *V*.
[2] misisset *Madvig*: misitsed *V*.
[3] essent *Gruter*: esset *V*.
[4] se *add. Drakenborch*: *om. V*.
[5] eos de se *Madvig*: eosdemse *V*.
[6] gratularique *Harant*: gratulatumque *V*.
[7] indicare ita eam *Harant*: indicarenttaoeam *V*.





public expense to Rome. On Masgaba's arrival, a B.C. 168
meeting of the senate was at once held for him. There the young man spoke so as to make matters pleasing by their nature even more pleasing by his words. He recalled how much infantry and cavalry, how many elephants, and how much grain his father had sent to Macedonia during those four years. He said that there were two matters which brought a blush to his father's cheeks: first, that the senate had requested through envoys what they needed for the war, and had not ordered it, and secondly, that they had sent him money for the grain. Masinissa remembered, said his son, that he held a kingdom won by the Roman People, and that they had increased it and made it many times as great; he was satisfied with the usufruct of the kingdom, and knew that the ownership and title to it were vested in those who had given it. Therefore it was right that they should claim what they wished from him, not request it, nor buy the products of his country that sprang from a soil that was their own gift. Masinissa was and would be satisfied with what the Roman People did not need. After Masgaba had set out with this message, he said, horsemen had overtaken him to report that Macedonia had been conquered and to bid him congratulate the senate and point out to them that his father was so rejoiced over this event that he wished to come to Rome and offer sacrifice and thanksgiving to Jupiter, Greatest and Best, on the Capitol; he requested permission from the senate to do this, if they had no objection.

XIV. The answer was given to the prince that his father Masinissa was acting as was proper for a good and grateful man, in that he attached to payment due

A.U.C. 586

deceat, ut pretium honoremque debito beneficio
2 addat. Et populum Romanum ab eo bello Punico
forti fidelique opera adiutum, et illum favente populo
Romano regnum adeptum; aequatis [1] iis postea
trium regum bellis deinceps omnibus eum functum
3 officiis. Victoria vero populi Romani laetari eum
regem mirum non esse, qui sortem omnem fortunae
regnique sui cum rebus Romanis miscuisset.[2] Grates
deis pro [3] victoria apud suos penates ageret; Romae
4 filium pro eo acturum. Gratulatum quoque satis
suo ac patris nomine esse. Ipsum relinquere
regnum et Africa excedere, praeterquam quod illi
inutile esset, non esse e re publica populi Romani se-
natum censere.
5 Petenti Masgabae, ut Hanno, Hamilcaris filius,
obses [4] in locum . . . exigeretur, responsum est
haud aequum videri senatum a Carthaginiensibus
6 obsides arbitrio Masinissae [5] exigere. Munera ex
senatus consulto emere regulo quaestor iussus ex
centum pondo argenti et prosequi eum Puteolos
omnemque sumptum, quoad in Italia esset, praebere
et duas naves conducere, quibus ipse comitesque
eius [6] in Africam deveherentur; et comitibus omni-
7 bus, liberis servisque, vestimenta data.
8 Haud ita multo post de altero Masinissae filio
Misagene litterae adlatae sunt, missum cum ab L.
Paulo post devictum Persea in Africam cum equitibus

[1] aequatis *Weissenborn*: aequitatis *V*.
[2] miscuisset *Kreyssig*: immiscuisset *V*.
[3] pro *Madvig*: p̄r. *V*.
[4] obses *Sigonius*: ospes *V*.
[5] exigeretur, responsum est haud aequum videri senatum a Carthaginiensibus obsides arbitrio Masinissae *add. Zingerle*: *om. V*: *nomen obsidis deest.*
[6] eius *J. F. Gronovius*: regis *V*.





B.C. 168

for kindness such credit and honour. On the one hand the Roman People had profited by his brave and loyal aid in the Punic War, and on the other, he had secured his kingdom through the good will of the Roman People; after this balancing of favours, he had performed every possible act of friendship in wars against three kings successively. Joy over the victory of the Roman People was not surprising in a king who had linked with the fortunes of the Romans the whole hazard of his personal fortunes and those of his realm. As for thanks to the gods for the victory, let him offer them in his own home; his son would serve as his representative at Rome. The son had also offered sufficient congratulations on his own and his father's behalf. That Masinissa himself should leave his kingdom and go outside of Africa, apart from the fact that it was against his own interests, was also contrary to the public welfare of the Roman People, the senate believed.

When Masgaba requested that Hanno, son of Hamilcar, be demanded as hostage in place of . . ., the answer was given that the senate considered it by no means just to exact hostages from the Carthaginians according to the judgment of Masinissa. The quaestor was ordered to buy gifts for the prince, in accordance with a resolution of the senate, to the amount of one hundred pounds of silver, and to escort him to Puteoli, to provide for all his expenses while he was in Italy, and to hire two ships to convey him and his suite to Africa. Garments were presented to all his suite, both free and slave.

Not very much later dispatches were brought from Masinissa's other son Misagenes, stating that he had been sent with his cavalry to Africa by Lucius Paulus

A.U.C. 586

suis; navigantem dispersa classe in Hadriatico mari
9 Brundisium tribus navibus aegrum delatum. Ad[1] eum cum isdem muneribus, quae data Romae fratri eius erant, L. Stertinius quaestor Brundisium missus iussusque[2] curare, ut aedes hospitio . . .[3]

XV. In quattuor urbanas tribus discripti[4] erant libertini praeter eos, quibus filius quinquenni maior
2 ex se natus[5] esset,—eos, ubi proximo lustro censi essent, censeri iusserunt—et eos, qui praedium praediave rustica pluris sestertium triginta milium
3 haberent, . . .[6] censendi ius factum est. Hoc cum ita servatum esset, negabat Claudius suffragii lationem iniussu populi censorem cuiquam homini,
4 nedum ordini universo adimere posse. Neque enim, si tribu movere possit,[7] quod sit nihil aliud quam mutare iubere tribum, ideo omnibus quinque et triginta tribubus emovere posse, id est civitatem libertatemque eripere, non, ubi censeatur, finire,
5 sed censu excludere. Haec inter ipsos disceptata; postremo eo descensum est, ut ex quattuor urbanis

[1] ad *add. Fr*: *om. V.*
[2] iussus *add. Fr*: *om. V.*
[3] hospi *V*: *lacuna folii unius.*
[4] discripti *Buecheler*: descripti *V.*
[5] ex se natus *Kreyssig*: exsenatu *V.*
[6] *lacunam indicat Crévier.*
[7] possit *Drakenborch*: posset *V.*

[1] From Valerius Maximus V. 1. 1d, the following matters seem to have been recounted here: the quaestor was to provide for the care of Misagenes, furnish expense-money for him and his suite, and provide ships for the voyage to Africa; also a pound of silver and 500 sesterces apiece were to be given to each cavalryman; Misagenes died. Presumably also the report of the elections, and something about the activity of





after the defeat of Perseus, that on his voyage his fleet had been scattered in the Adriatic, and he had arrived in ill heath with three ships at Brundisium. Lucius Stertinius the quaestor was sent to him with the same gifts which had been given at Rome to his brother, and was instructed to see to it that a house for entertainment . . .[1] B.C. 168

XV. Freedmen had been distributed among the four city tribes except for those who had a son over five years old (these they ordered to be reckoned where they had been enrolled at the census immediately previous), and those who had an estate or estates in the country valued at over thirty thousand sesterces . . .[2] the privilege of enrolling was granted. Although this arrangement had become established in this way, Claudius said that it was impossible for a censor without a decree of the people to deprive any individual of his ballot, let alone a whole class. For if, said Claudius, the censor could move a man from his tribe, which was exactly what ordering him to change his tribe meant, he could remove him from all thirty-five tribes, that is, deprive him of citizenship and status as a free man—not determine where he should be enrolled but exclude him from enrolment.[3] This was argued between the two censors; finally they resorted to the following solution: they drew lots publicly in the Hall of

the censors, prefatory to the following chapter, was included here. Previous activity of the censors was reported in XLIII. xiv–xvi; XLIV. xvi. 8–10. Cf. also the Summary of this book.

[2] The lacuna may have contained mention of the country tribes, in which the freedmen with large holdings were allowed.

[3] Claudius appears to be indulging in hyperbole, since the private rights of a free citizen were not in question.

A.U.C. 586

tribubus unam palam in atrio Libertatis sortirentur, in quam omnes, qui servitutem servissent, conicerent.
6 Esquilinae sors exiit; in ea Ti. Gracchus pronuntiavit libertinos omnis censeri placere.

7 Magno ea res honori censoribus apud senatum fuit. Gratiae actae et Sempronio, qui in bene coepto perseverasset, et Claudio, qui non impedisset.
8 Plures quam ab[1] superioribus et senatu moti[2] sunt et equos vendere iussi. Omnes iidem ab utroque et tribu moti[3] et aerarii facti; neque ullius, quem alter
9 notarat,[4] ab[5] altero levata ignominia. Petentibus, ut ex instituto ad sarta tecta exigenda et ad opera quae locassent probanda anni et sex mensum[6] tempus prorogaretur, Cn. Tremellius tribunus, quia lectus non erat in senatum, intercessit.

10 Eodem anno C. Cicereius aedem Monetae in monte[7] Albano dedicavit quinquennio post quam vovit. Flamen Martialis inauguratus est eo anno L. Postumius Albinus.

XVI. Q. Aelio M. Iunio consulibus de provinciis referentibus censuere patres duas provincias Hispaniam

[1] plures quam ab *Kreyssig*: plusquamad *V*.
[2] moti *Douiatius*: remoti *V*.
[3] moti *J. F. Gronovius*: remoti *V*.
[4] notarat *Pighius*: notaret *V*.
[5] ab *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[6] sex mensum *Bekker*: bimensus *V*.
[7] aedem Monetae in monte *Drakenborch*: ademmõ et *V*.

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[1] Previous instances of severity on the part of these censors are recorded in XLIII. xv. 6; xvi. 1; XLIV. xvi. 8.

[2] His vow is recorded in XLII. vii. 1; his triumph, on the Alban Mount, in XLII. xxi. 7. Dio Cassius XXXIX. 20, records as a portent that "a small temple of Juno, on a certain table, facing the east, was turned to the north." Perhaps the curious mention of a table (*trapeza*) is an error due to the





Liberty for one of the four city tribes, to which they would consign all those who had been slaves. The lot of the Esquiline tribe was cast; Tiberius Gracchus announced that they had decided to enrol all freedmen in this tribe. B.C. 168

This matter was regarded by the senate as greatly to the credit of the censors. Thanks were voted to Sempronius, for having persisted in a praiseworthy undertaking, and to Claudius, for not interfering. More men were removed from the senate than by former censors, and more also ordered to sell their horses.[1] All alike were by both censors removed from their tribe and made *aerarii*; nor was the disgrace of anyone who had been blacklisted by the one relieved by the other. When the censors asked that their term of a year and a half be prolonged in order that they might, as was customary, see to repairs to buildings and inspect the public works for which they had contracted, the request was vetoed by the tribune Gnaeus Tremellius, because he had not been chosen for the senate.

In this same year Gaius Cicereius dedicated a temple to Moneta on the Alban Mount five years after he vowed it.[2] In this year Lucius Postumius Albinus was consecrated as *flamen* of Mars.[3]

XVI. When the new consuls Quintus Aelius and Marcus Junius[4] put to the senate the question of provinces, the Fathers voted that Spain should again

association of Juno Moneta with monetary matters, cf. the monetary associations of *trapeza*.

[3] The death of the previous *flamen* is recorded in XLIV. xviii. 7.

[4] Both these consuls were plebeians, as in 172 B.C., XLII. x. 9. 172 was the first year in which two plebeians were elected, according to the Fasti Capitolini, C.I.L.[2] I. i., p. 25.

A.U.C. 587

rursus fieri, quae una per bellum Macedonicum fuerat;
2 et Macedoniam Illyricumque eosdem, L. Paulum et
L. Anicium, obtinere, donec de sententia legatorum
res et bello turbatas et in [1] statum alium ex regno
3 formandas composuissent. Consulibus Pisae et Gal-
lia decretae cum binis legionibus quinum milium et
ducenorum [2] peditum et equitum quadringenorum.[3]
Praetorum sortes fuere, Q. Cassi urbana, M'. Iuventi
Thalnae [4] inter peregrinos, Ti. Claudi Neronis Sicilia,
4 Cn. Fulvi Hispania citerior, ulterior [5] C. Licini
Nervae. A. Manlio Torquato Sardinia obvenerat:
at [6] nequiit ire in provinciam, ad res capitalis
quaerendas ex senatus consulto retentus.

5 De prodigiis deinde nuntiatis senatus est consultus.
Aedes deum [7] Penatium in Velia de caelo tacta erat
et in oppido Minervio duae portae et muri ali-
quantum. Anagniae terra pluerat et Lanuvi fax
in caelo visa erat; et Calatiae in publico agro M.
Valerius civis Romanus nuntiabat e foco suo sangui-
6 nem [8] per triduum et duas noctes manasse. Ob id
maxime decemviri libros adire iussi supplicationem

[1] in *add. Kreyssig*: *om. V.*
[2] legionibus quinum milium et ducenorum *add. Weissenborn*: *om. V.*
[3] quadringenorum *Drakenborch*: quadringentorum *V.*
[4] urbana, M'. Iuventi Thalnae *Sigonius*: urbanamiuuentitalnae *V.*
[5] ulterior *add. Fr, Hertz*: *om. V.*
[6] at *add. Novák*: *om. V.*
[7] deum *Kreyssig*: deus *V.*
[8] sanguinem *Gruter*: xanguine *V.*

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[1] The number sounds like the allied cavalry; a reference to Roman cavalry and allied infantry may have been lost. The usual number of Roman cavalry is 300, see XXII. xxxvi. 3;





B.C. 167

be made two provinces, after having been one during the Macedonian War; also that the same officers, Lucius Paulus and Lucius Anicius, should command in Macedonia and Illyricum until on the advice of senatorial envoys they had made a settlement for these states which had been upset by war, and which were to be given a constitution other than monarchical. To the consuls Pisa and Gaul were assigned with two legions apiece, each legion to be composed of five thousand two hundred infantry and four hundred cavalry.[1] The assignments for the praetors were: to Quintus Cassius, the City Praetorship; to Manius Juventius Thalna, the jurisdiction over aliens; to Tiberius Claudius Nero, Sicily; to Gnaeus Fulvius, Hither Spain; to Gaius Licinius Nerva, Farther Spain. Aulus Manlius Torquatus was assigned Sardinia, but was unable to go to his province, since he was held by vote of the senate to preside over trials for capital crimes.[2]

The question of the prodigies which had been reported was next put to the senate. The temple of the Household Gods on the Velia had been struck by lightning, as well as two gates and a section of wall in the town of Minervium. At Anagnia there had been a rain of earth and at Lanuvium a meteor had been seen in the sky; and at Calatia on state-owned land Marcus Valerius, a Roman citizen, reported that blood had trickled from his hearth for three days and two nights. Especially for this last the Board of Ten was ordered to consult the books; they

but the number 400 also appears in XXIII. xxxiv. 13 and XL. xxxvi. 8.

[2] Again the new praetor did not go to Sardinia, see above, p. 284, note 1. For similar special inquiries into crime, cf. XL. xliii. 2; XXXIX. xxxviii. 3; xli. 5. For Spain cf. p. 405, note 1.

A.U.C. 587 in diem unum populo edixerunt et quinquaginta capris in foro sacrificaverunt. Et aliorum prodigiorum causa diem alterum supplicatio circa omnia pulvinaria fuit et hostiis maioribus sacrificatum est et urbs lustrata.

7 Item,[1] quod ad honorem deum immortalium pertineret, decrevit senatus ut quoniam perduelles superati Perseus et Gentius reges cum Macedonia atque Illyrico in potestate populi Romani essent,
8 ut, quanta dona Ap. Claudio M. Sempronio consulibus ob devictum Antiochum regem data ad omnia pulvinaria essent, tanta Q. Cassius et M'. Iuventius praetores curarent danda.

XVII. Legatos deinde, quorum de sententia imperatores L. Paulus, L. Anicius componerent res, decreverunt decem in Macedoniam, quinque in[2]
2 Illyricum. In Macedoniam primi[3] nominati: A. Postumius Luscus, C. Claudius, ambo illi[4] censorii, Q. Fabius Labeo, Q. Marcius Philippus,[5] C. Licinius Crassus, collega in consulatu Pauli, tum prorogato
3 imperio provinciam Galliam habebat. His consularibus addidere Cn. Domitium Ahenobarbum, Ser. Cornelium Sullam, L. Iunium, T. Numisium Tarqui-
4 niensem, A. Terentium Varronem. In[6] Illyricum autem hi nominati: P. Aelius Ligus consularis, C. Cicereius et Cn. Baebius Tamphilus—hic priore anno,

[1] item *Madvig*: idem *V*.
[2] in *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[3] primi *Vahlen*: culpmi *V*.
[4] illi *Hertz*: alii *V*.
[5] Q. Fabius Labeo, Q. Marcius Philippus *add. H. J. Müller*: *om. V*.
[6] in *add. Fr*: *om. V*.





proclaimed to the people a single day of prayer and offered a sacrifice of fifty goats in the forum. Because of the other prodigies, another day of prayer was observed at all the banquet-tables of the gods, sacrifice with greater victims was offered, and the city purified. B.C. 167

Another matter concerning the paying of respects to the immortal gods was the senate's decree that, whereas the enemy had been conquered and the kings Perseus and Gentius along with Macedonia and Illyricum were under the sway of the Roman People, therefore the praetors Quintus Cassius and Manius Juventius should see to the presentation at all the banquet-tables of the gods of gifts as great as those given in the consulship of Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius because of the victory over King Antiochus.[1]

XVII. Ten commissioners for Macedonia and five for Illyricum were then appointed, on whose advice Lucius Paulus and Lucius Anicius might arrange the settlements. First those for Macedonia were named: Aulus Postumius Luscus and Gaius Claudius, both ex-censors, Quintus Fabius Labeo, Quintus Marcius Philippus, and Gaius Licinius Crassus, who was Paulus' colleague in the consulship and at that time was in charge of Gaul, his term of command having been extended. To these ex-consuls were added Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, Servius Cornelius Sulla, Lucius Junius, Titus Numisius Tarquiniensis, and Aulus Terentius Varro. For Illyricum the following were named: Publius Aelius Ligus, an ex-consul, Gaius Cicereius and Gnaeus Baebius Tam-

[1] These are mentioned in XXXVI. ii. 2–5; the consuls served in 185 B.C.

A.U.C. 587 Cicereius multis ante annis praetor fuerat—, P. Terentius Tuscivicanus, P. Manilius.

5 Moniti deinde consules a patribus ut, quoniam alterum ex his succedere C. Licinio, qui legatus nominatus erat, in Gallia oporteret, primo quoque[1] tempore provincias aut compararent inter se aut
6 sortirentur, sortiti sunt. M. Iunio Pisae obvenerunt, quem, priusquam in provinciam iret, legationes quae undique Romam gratulatum convenerant introducere
7 in senatum placuit, Q. Aelio Gallia.[2] Ceterum quamquam tales viri mitterentur, quorum de consilio sperari posset imperatores nihil indignum nec clementia nec gravitate populi Romani decreturos esse, tamen in senatu quoque agitata[3] sunt summa consiliorum, ut inchoata omnia legati ab domo ferre ad imperatores possent.

XVIII. Omnium primum liberos esse placebat Macedonas atque Illyrios, ut omnibus gentibus appareret arma populi Romani non liberis servitutem, sed contra
2 servientibus libertatem adferre, ut et, in libertate gentes quae essent, tutam eam sibi perpetuamque sub tutela populi Romani[4] esse, et, quae sub regibus viverent, et in praesens tempus mitiores eos iustioresque respectu populi Romani habere se crederent et,[5] si quando bellum cum populo Romano regibus fuisset suis, exitum eius victoriam Romanis adlaturum,

[1] quoque *add. Fr*: *om. V.*
[2] Gallia *add. Fr*: *om. V.*
[3] agitata *Weissenborn*: agitaltes *V.*
[4] populi Romani *add. Sigonius*: *om. V.*
[5] et *Madvig*: eo *V.*

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[1] Five years before, see above, xv. 9.





philus (the latter had been praetor the previous year, the former many years before[1]), Publius Terentius Tuscivicanus, and Publius Manilius. B.C. 167

Next the consuls were instructed by the Fathers that, since one of them should relieve Gaius Licinius, who had been appointed commissioner, in Gaul, they ought as early as possible either to agree on their provinces or to draw lots. They accordingly drew lots. Pisa fell to Marcus Junius, Gaul to Quintus Aelius. The senate voted that before Junius went to his field of activity, he should present to the senate the embassies which had assembled in Rome from all quarters to offer congratulations. Moreover, although men were being sent of sufficient calibre to justify the hope that by their advice the generals would establish nothing unworthy of either the mercy or the high position of the Roman People, yet discussions went on in the senate too as to general considerations, so that the commissioners might carry from home to the generals a full outline of policy.

XVIII. First of all it was voted that the Macedonians and Illyrians should be given their independence, so that it should be clear to all nations that the forces of the Roman People brought not slavery to free peoples, but on the contrary, freedom to the enslaved. The senate wished nations which were free to consider that their freedom was assured and lasting under the protection of the Roman People, and that those who lived under kings should feel for the time being that their rulers were milder and more just under the eye of the Roman People, and, if at any time their kings should make war on the Roman People, that the outcome of the war would bring victory to the Romans, but freedom to

A.U.C. 587

3 sibi libertatem.[1] Metalli quoque Macedonici, quod ingens vectigal erat, locationes praediorumque
4 rusticorum tolli placebat; nam neque sine publicano exerceri posse et, ubi publicanus esset, ibi aut ius publicum vanum aut libertatem sociis nullam esse.
5 Ne ipsos quidem Macedonas id[2] exercere posse; ubi in medio praeda administrantibus esset, ibi numquam causas seditionum et certaminis defore.
6 Denique ne, si[3] commune concilium[4] gentis esset, improbus vulgi adsentator[5] aliquando libertatem salubri moderatione[6] datam ad licentiam pestilentam
7 traheret, in quattuor regiones discribi[7] Macedoniam, ut suum quaeque concilium[8] haberet, placuit et dimidium tributi, quam quod regibus ferre soliti erant, populo Romano pendere. Similia his et in[9]
8 Illyricum mandata. Cetera ipsis imperatoribus legatisque relicta, in quibus praesens tractatio rerum certiora subiectura erat consilia.

XIX. Inter multas regum gentiumque et populorum legationes Attalus, frater regis Eumenis, maxime convertit in se omnium oculos animosque.

[1] fuisset suis, exitum eius victoriam Romanis adlaturum, sibi libertatem *Madvig*: fuisse sieuisexitumeiusuictoriamuic romanisadlaturumcrederent sibiadlaturumsibilibertatem *V*.
[2] id *Crévier*: idem *V*.
[3] denique ne si *add. H. J. Müller*: *om. V*.
[4] concilium *Sigonius*: consilum *V*.
[5] improbus vulgi adsentator *Hartel*: improbumuulgiadsenator *V*.
[6] moderatione *Douiatius*: moderationi *V*.
[7] discribi *Buecheler*: describi *V*.
[8] concilium *Sigonius*: consilium *V*.
[9] in *add. Fr*: *om. V*.





themselves. It was also voted to discontinue the leasing of the Macedonian mines, a source of immense revenue, and of rural estates, for these could not be farmed without a contractor, and where there was a contractor, there either the ownership by the state lapsed, or no freedom was left to the allied people.[1] It was impossible, the senate thought, for even the Macedonians to farm these resources; for where there was booty as a prize for administrators, in that state there would never be a lack of reasons for conspiracies and strife. Finally, fearing that if there were a common legislature for the nation, some relentless demagogue would turn the freedom given in healthy moderation into the licence which brings ruin, the senate voted to divide Macedonia into four sections, so that each might have its own legislature. It was further resolved that Macedonia should pay to the Roman People half the taxes which they had been accustomed to pay to their kings. Like instructions were given for Illyricum. The details were left to the generals and the commissioners themselves, for which the present discussion would lay a surer foundation of planning.[2] B.C. 167

XIX. Among the many embassies from kings, nations, and peoples Attalus, the brother of King Eumenes, especially drew to himself the eyes and

[1] The reasoning is perhaps that of Cato, who favoured Macedonian "freedom," see Spartianus, *Hadrian* 5; for the attitude toward the financiers, cf. XXXII. xxvii. 4; XXXIX. xliv. 8–9; XLIII. xvi. Below, xxix. 11, the specific arrangement for the mines is mentioned: gold and silver mining was prohibited, but iron and copper might be worked. The estates were no doubt those of the king.
[2] From xii. 9 to this point, Livy seems to have followed Roman annalists; he now draws from Polybius XXX. 1–5.

A.U.C. 587

2 Exceptus enim est ab iis,[1] qui simul eo bello militaverant[2] haud paulo benignius quam si ipse rex
3 Eumenes venisset. Adduxerant eum duae in speciem honestae res, una gratulatio conveniens in ea victoria quam ipse adiuvisset, altera querimonia Gallici tumultus acceptaeque cladis qua[3] regnum in
4 dubium adductum esset. Suberat et secreta spes honorum praemiorumque ab senatu, quae vix salva pietate ei[4] contingere poterant. Erant[5] enim quidam Romanorum quoque non boni auctores, qui spe
5 cupiditatem eius elicerent; eam opinionem de Attalo et Eumene Romae esse, tamquam de altero Romanis certo amico, altero nec Romanis nec Persei fido
6 socio. Itaque vix statui posse utrum quae pro se an quae contra fratrem petiturus esset ab senatu magis impetrabilia forent; adeo universos omnia et huic tribuere et illi vero negare.

7 Eorum hominum, ut res docuit, Attalus erat qui, quantum spes spopondisset, cuperent, ni unius amici prudens monitio velut frenos animo eius gestienti
8 secundis rebus imposuisset. Stratius cum eo fuit medicus, ad id ipsum a non securo Eumene Romam missus speculator rerum, quae a fratre agerentur,
9 monitorque fidus, si decidi fide vidisset. Is ad occupatas iam aures solicitatumque iam animum cum

[1] iis *Kreyssig*: his *V*.
[2] militaverant *Clericus*: militaverunt *V*.
[3] acceptaeque cladis qua *Walch*, *Kreyssig*: aduertaeque-gladiisquae *V*.
[4] ei *Crévier*: eius *V*.
[5] erant *add. Fr*: *om. V*.





minds of everyone.[1] For he was received by those who had served with him in this war in much more cordial fashion than if King Eumenes himself had come. Two reasons honourable in outward view brought him to Rome, first the congratulations suitable to the recent victory in which he himself had aided, and second, complaint about the uprising of the Galatians and the disaster suffered thereby, which threatened destruction to the kingdom itself. Underneath he cherished a secret hope of honours and rewards from the senate which he could hardly accept without disloyalty to his brother. For there were also certain untrustworthy Roman advisers to stimulate his self-seeking with hope; the view, they said, held in Rome about Attalus and Eumenes was that the former was a sure friend to the Romans, while the latter was a faithful ally neither to the Romans nor to Perseus; accordingly it could hardly be determined whether the senate would be more disposed to grant his requests for himself or those against his brother—to such an extent did one and all make every concession to the one, but withhold any from the other. B.C. 167

Attalus was, as the facts showed, one of those men who would desire whatever hope might promise; but the wise advice of one friend tightened the reins, as it were, on his spirit elated by success. Stratius, a physician, was with him, sent to Rome by the uneasy Eumenes precisely to keep an eye on the actions of his brother and to give loyal advice, if he saw any failure in loyalty. This Stratius made his approach to ears already filled and a mind already temp-

[1] According to Polybius, the warmth of this reception suggested to Attalus the possibility of supplanting his brother.

A.U.C. 587 venisset, adgressus tempestivis sermonibus[1] rem
prope prolapsam restituit, aliis alia regna crevisse
10 rebus dicendo; regnum eorum novum, nullis vetustis
fundatum opibus, fraterna stare concordia, quod unus
nomen regium et praecipuum capitis insigne gerat,
11 omnes fratres regnent. Attalum vero, qui aetate
proximus sit,[2] quis non pro rege habeat? neque eo
solum, quia tantas praesentes eius opes cernat, sed
quod haud ambiguum sit[3] prope diem regnaturum;
eam infirmitatem aetatemque Eumenis esse nullam
stirpem liberum habentis; necdum enim agnoverat
12 eum, qui postea regnavit. Quid attinere[4] vim
adferre rei sua sponte ad eum mox venturae?[5]
accessisse etiam novam tempestatem regno tu-
multus Gallici, cui vix consensu et concordia regum
13 resisti queat; si vero ad externum bellum domestica
seditio adiciatur, sisti non posse. Nec aliud eum
quam, ne frater in regno moriatur, sibi ipsi spem
14 propinquam regni erepturum. Si utraque gloriosa
res esset, et servasse fratri regnum et eripuisse,
servati tamen regni, quae iuncta pietati sit, potiorem
laudem futuram[6] fuisse. Sed enimvero cum detesta-

[1] sermonibus *J. F. Gronovius*: temporibus *V*.
[2] qui aetate proximus sit *Kreyssig*: quiaaetaterproximussi *V*.
[3] sit *add. Harant*: *om. V*.
[4] attinere *J. F. Gronovius*: adtineret *V*.
[5] venturae *Duker*: adventurae *V*.
[6] futuram *add. Andresen*: *om. V*.

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[1] Eumenes was in his late fifties at this time.
[2] This successor, Attalus III, was born shortly before Eumenes' death, and reigned for 21 years under a regency of his uncle Attalus. (See XLII. xvi. 9 and the note, Vol. XII, p. 339, for the view that Attalus III was actually the son of





ted, and by offering well-timed remarks won an almost lost cause; his argument was that different kingdoms had thrived on different things; the kingdom of Pergamum, being new and not bolstered by any long-standing wealth, was founded on brotherly harmony, because one brother wore the name of king and the distinguishing emblem on his head, but all the brothers ruled. As for Attalus, who was second in age, who did not consider him as a king? And not only because one could see that his present powers were so great, but because it was beyond doubt that he would reign before many days had passed, for the weakness and age[1] of Eumenes pointed in that direction, since he was at that time without issue (for Eumenes had not at that time acknowledged the son who reigned after him[2]). What use was there, said Stratius, in seeking by violence a prize which would automatically fall to him shortly? Furthermore, the kingdom had been assailed by the fresh tempest of the Galatian uprising, which could hardly be withstood by agreement and harmony in the royal family; but if civil strife were added to the foreign war, no halt could be called. What he was considering was simply preventing his brother from dying as king in order to rob himself of his imminent expectation of the throne. Even if it were true that either action would bring fame, whether he preserved the kingdom for his brother, or snatched it from him, nevertheless praise for preserving the kingdom, coupled as it was with family loyalty, would still be the better choice. But inasmuch as one alter- B.C. 167

Attalus II). An illegitimate son of Eumenes, Aristonicus, captured the throne after the death of Attalus III, and fought Rome: cf. Summary LIX.

A.U.C. 587

bilis altera res et proxima parricidio sit, quid ad
15 deliberationem dubii superesse? utrum enim partem regni petiturum esse, an totum erepturum? si partem, ambo infirmos distractis viribus et omnibus iniuriis profecto[1] obnoxios fore; si totum, privatumne ergo maiorem fratrem, an exulem esse[2] illa aetate, illa corporis infirmitate, an ad[3] ultimum mori
16 iussurum? egregium enim, ut fabulis traditus impiorum fratrum eventus taceatur, Persei exitum videri, qui ex fraterna caede raptum diadema in templo Samothracum, velut praesentibus dis exigentibus poenas, ad pedes victoris hostis prostratus
17 posuerit. Eos ipsos qui non illi amici,[4] sed Eumeni infesti stimulent eum, pietatem constantiamque laudaturos, si fidem ad ultimum fratri praestitisset.

XX. Haec plus valuere in Attali animo. Itaque introductus in senatum gratulatus victoriam est; sua merita eo bello fratrisque, si qua erant, et Gallorum defectionem, quae nuper ingenti motu facta erat,
2 exposuit; petit ut legatos mitteret ad eos, quorum auctoritate ab armis avocarentur. His pro regni utilitate editis mandatis, Aenum sibi et Maroneam

[1] profecto *Brakman*: pro *V*: porro *Hartel*: populi Romani (*i.e. ex* pr.) *Madvig*.
[2] esse *add. H. J. Müller*: *om. V*.
[3] ad *add. Duker*: *om. V*.
[4] qui non illi amici *Fr*: quinillisamicis *V*.

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[1] They were actually independent, but had been warned by Rome to keep the peace, according to XXXVIII. xl. 1; Polybius XXX. 3, also speaks of a "revolt" (*aponoia*).





native was in fact despicable and verging on the B.C. 167
murder of kin, what remained in doubt to keep judgment in suspense? Was he in doubt whether to seek for part of the kingdom, or to seize it all? If he took part, both parts would be weakened by disruption of forces and without a doubt exposed to every kind of injury; if he took all, would his elder brother become a private citizen, or an exile at his age and with his weakness of body, or would Attalus in the end order his brother's death? To say nothing of the end of disloyal brothers as told in legend, the fate of Perseus seemed to be a notable example, for as he bowed himself down at the feet of a conquering enemy, he had laid aside in the temple of Samothrace, as if the gods had been there exacting his punishment, that crown which he had seized by means of a brother's murder. The very men, said Stratius, who were egging him on, no friends to him, but foes to Eumenes, would praise his loyalty and steadfastness, if he kept faith with his brother to the end.

XX. This reasoning prevailed on the mind of Attalus. On being presented to the senate, therefore, he offered congratulations on the victory; he explained his services during this war, and those of his brother, such as they were, as well as the revolt of the Galatians[1] which had recently taken place with great disturbance; he requested that the senate should send envoys to the Galatians, to induce them to lay aside their arms. Having delivered these messages in the interest of his state, he asked for Aenus and Maronea for himself.[2] Thus, after dis-

[2] Polybius says this request was not granted, because Attalus had disappointed the Roman hope that he would break with his brother.

A.U.C. 587

3 petit. Ita destituta eorum spe, qui fratre accusato
partitionem regni petiturum crediderant, curia[1]
excessit. Raro[2] alias quisquam rex aut privatus
tanto favore tantoque omnium adsensu est auditus:
omnibus honoribus muneribusque et[3] praesens est
cultus et proficiscentem prosecuti sunt.
4 Inter multas Asiae Graciaeque legationes Rhodi-
5 orum maxime legati civitatem converterunt. Nam
cum primo in veste candida visi essent, quod et
gratulantis decebat, et, si sordidam vestem habuis-
sent, lugentium Persei casum praebere speciem
6 poterant, postquam consulti ab M. Iunio consule
patres stantibus in comitio legatis, an locum, lautia[4]
senatumque darent, nullum hospitale ius in iis esse[5]
7 servandum censuerunt, egressus e curia consul, cum
Rhodii gratulatum se de victoria purgatumque
civitatis crimina dicentes venisse petissent, ut senatus
8 sibi daretur, pronuntiat sociis et amicis et alia comiter
atque hospitaliter praestare Romanos et senatum
dare consuesse: Rhodios non ita meritos eo bello,
ut amicorum sociorumque[6] numero habendi sint;
9 his auditis prostraverunt se omnes humi consulem-
que et cunctos, qui aderant, orantes, ne nova falsaque

[1] curia *Sigonius*: curiam *V*.
[2] Raro *J. F. Gronovius*: ut raro *V*.
[3] et *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[4] lautia *Bas*: lautianm *V*.
[5] in iis esse *Kreyssig*: inisse *V*.
[6] que *add. Curio*: *om. V*.

[1] Perhaps on the *Graecostasis*, an open platform, from which foreign envoys watched ceremonies; this was later located in the Forum.

[2] Formally, the Rhodians were not allies, having preferred to retain complete independence of action, cf. below xxv. 9.





B.C. 167

appointing the hopes of those who had supposed that he would accuse his brother and seek a division of the kingdom, he left the senate-house. Seldom has anyone else, king or citizen, been heard with as much good will and as much general approval; Attalus was honoured with every mark of attention and gift while he was there, and on his departure he was attended with equal ceremony.

Among the many embassies from Asia and Greece, the envoys of the Rhodians especially drew the city's attention. For they first appeared in white clothes, as was suitable for those offering congratulations—and had they worn soiled clothes, they might have offered the appearance of men mourning for the fall of Perseus. However, after the senate was consulted by Marcus Junius the consul, while the envoys stood in the assembly-ground,[1] whether lodgings, entertainment, and reception before the senate should be provided, and the Fathers had advised that none of the rights of hospitality should be granted in their case, the consul came forth from the senate-house, and in reply to the Rhodians, who said they had come to offer congratulations on the victory and to clear their city of the charges against it, and asked that a session of the senate be held for them, the consul announced that for allies and friends the Romans were accustomed to perform various acts of courtesy and hospitality, one of which was to grant a hearing before the senate, but the Rhodians during this war had not earned the right to be considered in the category of friends and allies.[2] On hearing this, the Rhodians threw themselves on the ground and begged the consul and all who were present not to adopt the principle that new and false charges

A.U.C. 587

crimina plus obesse Rhodiis aequum censerent quam
10 antiqua merita, quorum ipsi testes essent. Extemplo veste sordida sumpta domos principum cum precibus ac lacrimis circumibant orantes, ut prius cognoscerent causam quam condemnarent.[1]

XXI. M'.[2] Iuventius Thalna praetor, cuius inter cives et peregrinos iurisdictio erat, populum adversus
2 Rhodios incitabat rogationemque promulgaverat, ut Rhodiis bellum indiceretur, et ex magistratibus eius anni deligerent qui ad id bellum cum classe mit-
3 teretur, se eum sperans futurum esse. Huic actioni M. Antonius et M. Pomponius tribuni plebis adversa-
4 bantur. Sed et praetor novo maloque exemplo rem ingressus erat, quod non ante consulto senatu, non consulibus certioribus factis de sua unius sententia rogationem ferret, vellent iuberentne Rhodiis bellum
5 indici, cum antea semper prius senatus de bello consultus esset, deinde ex auctoritate[3] patrum ad
6 populum latum, et tribuni plebis, cum ita traditum esset, ne quis prius intercederet legi quam privatis suadendi dissuadendique legem potestas facta esset, eoque persaepe evenisset, ut et[4] qui non professi

[1] condemnarent *Crévier*: condē narentur *V*.
[2] M'. *Sigonius*: T. *V*.
[3] ex auctoritate *add. Kreyssig*: *om. V*.
[4] ut et *Kreyssig*: uter *V*.

[1] Polybius XXX. 4. 5 says this occurred after the activity of Juventius mentioned just below.

[2] There was precedent, however, for action by the assembly over senatorial opposition, see XXI. lxiii. 3; XXXVIII. xxxvi. 8, and the note. A constitutional question is involved: war was regularly declared by the centuriate assembly, the oldest and least democratic gathering; but could the praetor summon this assembly, except for judicial purposes? The





against the Rhodians should outweigh the good services of long standing of which they themselves were witnesses. Forthwith the Rhodians put on mourning [1] and went the rounds of the houses of the chief men begging with tears and entreaties that they would hear the case before passing sentence. B.C. 167

XXI. Manius Juventius Thalna, the praetor with jurisdiction over suits between citizens and aliens, was stirring up the people against the Rhodians and had announced a motion to declare war against Rhodes and to choose from the magistrates of this year one to be sent to this war with a fleet (Juventius hoped that he would be the one designated). Such action was opposed by Marcus Antonius and Marcus Pomponius, tribunes of the people. But not only had the praetor in the first place undertaken the matter in a novel and dangerous fashion, because he was proposing entirely on his own initiative, without previously consulting the senate or notifying the consuls, to put to the people the question, whether it was their will and command that war should be declared against the Rhodians, whereas previously the senate had always been consulted first about war, and then the question brought before the people on the authority of the senate,[2] but the tribunes also were in the same position, since the custom was that no one should veto a law until opportunity was given to private citizens [3] to argue for and against the law; in this way it had often turned out either that those

decision to relieve Messana which opened the First Punic War is a near parallel, though one faction of the senate led the appeal to the commons (Polybius I. 11. 1–3).

[3] Not excluding magistrates; Livy takes it for granted that they might address a meeting; for examples, see XXXIV. i. 7; v. 1; XLIII. xvi. 8.

A.U.C. 587 essent se intercessuros, animadversis vitiis legis ex 7 oratione[1] dissuadentium intercederent, et qui ad intercedendum venissent, desisterent victi auctoritatibus suadentium legem. Tum inter praetorem tribunosque omnia intempestive agendi certamen erat; 8 tribuni festinationem praetoris ante tempus intercedendo . . .[2] in adventum imperatoris . . .[3]

XXII. ". . . est. Peccaverimusne adhuc dubium est; poenas, ignominias omnes iam patimur. Antea, Carthaginiensibus victis, Philippo, Antiocho superatis, cum Romam venissemus, ex publico hospitio in curiam gratulatum vobis, patres conscripti, ex curia in Capitolium ad deos vestros dona ferentes ascende-
2 bamus;[4] nunc ex sordido deversorio, vix mercede recepti ac prope hostium more extra urbem manere iussi, in hoc squalore venimus in curiam Romanam Rhodii, quos provinciis nuper Lycia atque Caria, quos praemiis atque honoribus amplissimis donastis.

3 "Et Macedonas Illyriosque liberos esse, ut audimus, iubetis, cum servierint, antequam vobiscum
4 bellarent—nec cuiusquam fortunae invidemus, immo agnoscimus clementiam populi Romani—; Rhodios, qui nihil aliud quam quieverunt hoc bello, hostes

[1] oratione *J. F. Gronovius*: ratione *V*.
[2] *lacunam indicat Sigonius*.
[3] imperatoris *Manutius*: im *V*: *lacuna folii unius*.
[4] ascendebamus *add. Giarratano*: escendebamus *add. Zingerle*: *om. V*.

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[1] Polybius XXX. 4. 6 says that Antonius, who had removed the praetor Juventius from the Rostra, introduced the Rhodians to the senate; Philophron spoke first, then Asty-





who had not announced that they would exercise the B.C. 167 veto did so when the faults of the law had been called to their attention by the speeches of those who opposed the law, or that those who had come intending to veto were overborne by the prestige of those who argued for the law. On this occasion the praetor and the tribunes vied with each other in doing everything in the wrong order; the tribunes by their premature veto . . . the haste of the praetor . . . till the arrival of the general . . .[1]

XXII. ". . . is. Whether we have done wrong is so far unproved, but we are already suffering all the penalties and disgrace. In former times, after the defeat of Carthage, when Philip or Antiochus had been subdued, on our arrival in Rome we came from public entertainment to the senate-house to offer you our congratulations, gentlemen of the senate, and from the senate-house we mounted to the Capitol, bearing gifts to your gods. Today from a mean inn, having hardly found shelter for pay and all but ordered like enemies to remain outside the city, we Rhodians in this mourning garb enter the senate-house of Rome—we to whom you lately presented the provinces of Lycia and Caria, who received from you the most unstinted rewards and honours.

"You are bidding the Macedonians and Illyrians be independent, we hear, though they were slaves before they waged war against you—nor are we jealous of anyone's good fortune, nay rather we recognize the mercy of the Roman People; and will you transform us Rhodians from allies into enemies—

medes; Livy undertakes to reproduce the speech of the latter, though it is not found in Polybius, who criticized its tone adversely.

A.U.C. 587

5 ex sociis facturi estis? Certe iidem[1] vos estis Romani, qui ideo felicia bella vestra esse, quia iusta sint, prae vobis fertis, nec tam exitu eorum, quod vincatis, quam principiis, quod numquam[2] sine causa susci-
6 piatis, gloriamini. Messana in Sicilia oppugnata Carthaginienses, Athenae oppugnatae et Graecia in servitutem petita et adiutus Hannibal pecunia
7 auxiliis Philippum hostem fecerunt. Antiochus ipse ultro ab Aetolis, hostibus vestris, accersitus, ex Asia classe in Graeciam traiecit; Demetriade et Chalcide et saltu Thermopylarum occupato de possessione
8 imperii vos deicere est[3] conatus. Cum Perseo socii vestri oppugnati, aut[4] interfecti reguli principesque gentium aut populorum causa belli vobis fuere.
9 Quem tandem titulum nostra calamitas habitura est, si perituri sumus? nondum segrego civitatis causam a Polyarato et Dinone, civibus nostris, et iis, quos ut traderemus vobis, adduximus. Si omnes Rhodii aeque noxii essemus, quod nostrum in hoc bello
10 crimen esset? Persei partibus favimus et, quemadmodum Antiochi Philippique bello pro vobis adversus reges, sic nunc pro rege adversus vos stetimus.
11 Quemadmodum soleamus socios iuvare et quam impigre capessere bella, C. Livium, L. Aemilium

[1] iidem *Madvig*: quidẽ *V*.
[2] numquam *Wesenberg*: num *V*.
[3] est *add. Novák*: *om. V*. [4] aut *Harant*: alii *V*.

[1] In XXX. xxvi. 2–4, Livy reports grievances of Greece against Philip and a report of Macedonian aid to Carthage (203 B.C.); he also reports the presence of a Macedonian force at Zama (XXX. xxxiii. 6), though no mention is made of them during the battle; and later (XXX. xlii. 4–9) the ransom of Macedonian prisoners, said to be mercenaries, is discussed. See also XXXI. i. 10. But Polybius says nothing about this aid from Macedonia; Livy may, then, be quoting Roman





us, who have been no worse than inactive in this war? B.C. 167
Surely you are the same Romans who boast that your wars are favoured of Fortune because they are just, nor do you exult as much in the outcome, because you conquer, as in the beginning, because you never undertake war without good cause. The siege of Messana in Sicily made the Carthaginians your enemies, the siege of Athens, the attempted enslavement of Greece and the aid given Hannibal in money and troops made Philip your foe.[1] Antiochus was summoned at the initiative of the Aetolians, your enemies; he crossed in person with his fleet to Greece; he seized Demetrias, Chalcis, and the pass of Thermopylae, and sought to cast you out of the tenure of your empire. With Perseus, your reason for war was the assault upon your allies, or the murder of princes and chiefs of nations or peoples.[2] Under what heading, pray, shall our downfall be placed, if we are to perish? For the present I am not separating the case for the city from Polyaratus and Dinon, our fellow-citizens, and from those whom we brought to hand over to you. If all we Rhodians were equally guilty, what would be the charge against us in this war? It would be that we took the side of Perseus and as we took a stand for you in the wars with Antiochus and with Philip against those kings, so now we sided with the king against you. How we are accustomed to help our allies, and how vigorously we enter into a war, you may ask Gaius Livius,[3] or

rumour. Philip and Hannibal, while opposing Rome, seem to have been suspicious of each other, and each anxious that the other should not profit by the elimination of Rome.

[2] A statement of these charges is found in XLII. xiii and xl.

[3] Cf. XXXVI. ii. 14 and xlii for Livius; XXXVII. ii. 1 and 10; xiv. 1–3, etc., to lviii. 3–5 for Aemilius.

A.U.C. 587 Regillum interrogate, qui classibus vestris in Asia praefuerunt. Numquam vestrae naves pugnavere
12 sine nobis. Nos [1] nostra classe pugnavimus semel ad Samum, iterum in Pamphylia adversus Hannibalem
13 imperatorem; quae victoria nobis eo gloriosior est, quod, cum ad Samum magnam partem navium adversa pugna et egregiam iuventutem amissisemus, ne tanta quidem clade territi iterum ausi sumus [2]
14 regiae classi ex Syria venienti obviam ire. Haec non gloriandi causa rettuli—neque enim ea nunc nostra est fortuna—sed ut admonerem, quemadmodum adiuvare socios solerent Rhodii.

XXIII. "Praemia et Philippo et [3] Antiocho devictis amplissima accepimus a vobis. Si, quae vestra nunc est fortuna deum benignitate et virtute vestra, ea Persei fuisset, et praemia petitum ad victorem regem venissemus in Macedoniam, quid tandem diceremus?
2 pecuniane a nobis adiutum an frumento? auxiliis terrestribus an navalibus? quod praesidium tenuisse nos? ubi pugnasse aut sub illius ducibus aut [4] per nos
3 ipsos? si quaereret, ubi miles noster, ubi navis intra praesidia sua fuisset, quid responderemus? causam fortasse diceremus apud victorem, quem ad modum
4 apud vos dicimus. Hoc enim legatos utroque [5] de pace mittendo consecuti sumus, ut ne ab utraque

[1] nos *add. Cobet*: *om. V.*
[2] ausi sumus *Fr*: aus *V.*
[3] Philippo et *add. Weissenborn*: *om.* V.
[4] aut *add. Fr*: *om. V.*
[5] utroque de *Fr*: ultraquae *V.*





Lucius Aemilius Regillus, who commanded your fleets in Asia. Never did your ships enter battle without ours. We fought independently first at Samos, and again off Pamphylia against the command of Hannibal; this victory gives us the more pride because, undismayed by the terrible catastrophe by which we had lost in the defeat at Samos a large part of our fleet and a splendid group of young men,[1] we dared to go out again to meet the king's fleet as it approached from Syria. These matters I have mentioned not for the sake of boasting, for indeed our present fortune does not permit that, but to make it clear how the Rhodians are accustomed to aid their allies. B.C. 167

XXIII. "The rewards which we received from you after the conquest of Philip and of Antiochus were most abundant.[2] If the good fortune which is now yours by the grace of the gods and because of your valour had fallen to Perseus, and we had come to Macedonia to seek a reward from the victorious king, what pray would we say? That we had aided him with money or with grain, with forces on land or on sea? What fortress had we held? Where had we fought either under his commanders or by ourselves? If he asked where there had been a soldier of ours, or where a ship, within his lines, what in the world would be our answer? Perhaps we should be defending ourselves before the conqueror, as now we are before you. For the result we obtained by sending envoys to both parties concerning peace was that we

[1] Livy tells of these battles in XXXVII. x–xi and XXXVII. xxiii–xxiv respectively.
[2] These are enumerated in XXXIII. xxx. 11 and XXXVIII. xxxix. 13 respectively.

A.U.C. 587

parte gratiam iniremus, ab altera etiam crimen et
5 periculum esset. Quamquam Perseus vere obiceret,
id quod vos non potestis, patres conscripti, nos
principio belli misisse ad vos legatos, qui pollicerentur
vobis, quae ad bellum opus essent; navibus,[1] armis,
iuventute nos,[2] sicut prioribus bellis, ad omnia para-
6 tos fore. Ne praestaremus, per vos stetit, qui de
quacumque causa tum aspernati nostra auxilia estis.
Neque fecimus igitur quicquam tamquam[3] hostes,
neque bonorum sociorum defuimus officio, sed a
7 vobis prohibiti praestare fuimus. "Quid igitur?
nihilne factum neque dictum est in civitate vestra,
Rhodii, quod nolletis, quo merito offenderetur
populus Romanus?" Hinc iam non, quod factum
est, sum[4] defensurus—non adeo insanio—, sed
publicam causam a privatorum culpa segrega-
8 turus. Nulla[5] est civitas, quae non et improbos
cives aliquando et imperitam multitudinem semper
9 habeat. Etiam apud vos fuisse audivi, qui
adsentando multitudini grassarentur, et secessisse
aliquando a vobis plebem nec in potestate vestra
10 rem publicam fuisse. Si hoc in hac tam bene
morata civitate accidere potuit, mirari quisquam
potest aliquos fuisse apud nos, qui regis amicitiam
petentes plebem nostram consiliis depravarent?

[1] navibus *J. F. Gronovius*: navalibus *V*.
[2] nos *Pluygers*: nostra *V*: nos nostra *Drakenborch*.
[3] tamquam *Fr*: tam *V*.
[4] sum *add. Fr, Novák*: *om. V*.
[5] nulla *Madvig*: nullam *V*.

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[1] The story of this offer, and of the dismissal of the Rhodians as soon as they appeared at the Roman naval station, is told in XLII. xlv; lvi. 6; and Polybius XXVII. 7(6).





won no favour from either side, but incurred even accusation and danger from one of them. Yet Perseus might truly reproach us, as you cannot, gentlemen of the senate, because we sent to you at the beginning of the war envoys to promise you whatever was needed for the war; we would be ready, we said, as in the former wars, with ships, arms, and young men for every demand. The obstacle to our furnishing these things was of your making, since you for whatever reason spurned our aid at that time.[1] Neither therefore have we in any way acted as enemies, nor have we failed in the duty of good allies, but we were prevented from performing that duty by you. 'What then? Has nothing been said or done in your city, Rhodians, which you would wish undone, at which the Roman People might justly take offence?' From this point I do not propose to defend what has happened—I am not so mad—but I propose to separate the defence of the state from the guilt of private citizens. There is no state which will not have not only wicked citizens at certain times but an inexperienced commonalty always. Even in your city I hear that there have been those who pursued ill-gotten gain by toadying to the mob, and that at certain times the commons seceded from you and you lost control of the commonwealth.[2] If this could happen in a state with so well disciplined a character, can any one marvel that there were some among us who in grasping after the king's friendship led our commons astray with their B.C. 167

[2] Presumably the reference is to the struggles of patricians and plebeians, cf. III. xli. 5–6 and many other passages; for more recent instances, see above, p. 312, note 2.

A.U.C. 587

qui tamen nihil ultra valuerunt, quam ut in officio
11 cessaremus. Non praeteribo [1] id, quod gravissimum
est in hoc bello crimen civitatis nostrae: legatos
eodem tempore et ad vos et ad Persea de pace misi-
mus; quod infelix consilium furiosus, ut postea
12 audivimus, orator stultissimum fecit, quem sic locu-
tum constat, tamquam C. Popilius legatus Romanus,
quem ad summovendos a bello Antiochum et Ptole-
13 maeum reges misistis, loqueretur. Sed tamen ea
sive superbia, sive stultitia appellanda est, eadem,
14 quae apud vos, et apud Persea fuit. Tam civitatium
quam singulorum hominum mores sunt; gentes
quoque aliae iracundae, aliae audaces, quaedam
timidae, in vinum, in venerem proniores aliae sunt.
15 Atheniensium populum fama est celerem et supra
vires audacem esse ad conandum, Lacedaemoniorum
cunctatorem et vix in ea, quibus fidit, ingredientem.
16 Non negaverim et totam Asiae regionem inaniora
parere ingenia, et nostrorum tumidiorem sermonem
esse, quod excellere inter finitimas civitates videa-
mur, et id ipsum non tam viribus nostris quam vestris
17 honoribus ac iudiciis. Satis quidem et tunc in
praesentia castigata illa legatio erat, cum tam tristi
responso vestro dimissa. Si tum parum igno-
miniae pensum est, haec certe tam miserabilis ac sup-

[1] cessaremus. Non praeteribo *Fr*: caesaremnonutinonpraeteriuo *V*.

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[1] The implication that the aristocracy of Rhodes favoured Rome is another indication of a situation found in many states. Cf. XLII. xxx. 1.

[2] This seems to be directly out of Thucydides I. 70–71, and must have been supplied by Livy, for Athens and Sparta had





counsel? [1] However, these people wrought no harm beyond slackness in our loyalty as friends. I shall not pass over the most serious charge against our city in this war: we sent envoys at the same time both to you and to Perseus on the subject of peace; this unhappy plan, through a madman, as we heard later, who was spokesman, became something extremely stupid, for he spoke, it is well known, as the Roman envoy Gaius Popilius might have spoken, whom you sent to turn back from war Kings Antiochus and Ptolemy. But nevertheless this error, whether it should be called arrogance or folly, was no different before you from what it was before Perseus. The character of states is like that of individual men; some nations are hot-tempered, some bold, some diffident, some over-indulgent in wine, others in sex. The people of Athens, report has it, is quick and bold beyond its strength in adventure, the Spartan hesitant and hardly undertaking matters of which it is sure.[2] I would not deny that all the region of Asia breeds somewhat flighty temperaments, and that our rhetoric is rather inflated [3] because we might seem to be outstanding among the states in our area—a position due precisely not to our own powers but to your favours and your choice of us. Enough punishment was meted out to that embassy on the spot and to their faces, when they were sent away with so grim an answer from you. But if at that time they paid too small a penalty of disgrace, certainly the present embassy, so B.C. 167

not been conspicuous for these tendencies in the second century.

[3] But Cicero expressly acquits the Rhodians of indulging in "Asianic" oratory, *Orator* viii. 25.

A.U.C. 587 plex legatio etiam insolentioris, quam illa fuit, le-
18 gationis satis magnum piaculum esset. Superbiam, verborum praesertim, iracundi oderunt, prudentes inrident,[1] utique si inferioris adversus superiorem est; capitali poena nemo umquam dignam iudicavit.
19 Id enimvero periculum erat, ne Romanos Rhodii contemnerent. Etiam deos aliqui verbis ferocioribus increpant, nec ideo[2] quemquam fulmine ictum audimus.

XXIV. "Quid igitur superat, quod purgemus,[3] si nec factum hostile ullum nostrum est, et[4] verba tumidiora legati offensionem aurium, non perniciem
2 civitatis meruerunt? Voluntatis nostrae tacitae[5] velut litem aestimari vestris inter vos sermonibus audio, patres conscripti: favisse nos regi et illum vincere maluisse, ideo bello persequendos esse
3 credunt alii; alii[6] vestrum voluisse quidem nos hoc, non tamen ob id bello persequendos esse; neque moribus neque legibus ullius civitatis ita comparatum esse ut, si qui velit[7] inimicum perire, si[8] nihil
4 fecerit, quo id fiat, capitis damnetur. His, qui nos poena, non crimine liberant, gratiam quidem habe-

[1] inrident *Curio*: inriderent *V*.
[2] nec ideo *Kreyssig*: neeocid *V*.
[3] purgemus *J. F. Gronovius*: purgamus *V*.
[4] et *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[5] tacitae *I. Perizonius*: tacite *V*.
[6] alii *add. Heusinger*: *om. V*.
[7] velit *Vahlen*: vellet *V*.
[8] si *Vascosanus*: utsii *V*.

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[1] A sin-offering, as if to gods.
[2] Cf. the Guard to Creon in *Antigone* 317: "Are you stung in the ear, or in the mind?"
[3] Appraisal of damages was an important part of Roman





pitiable and so humble, would be atonement[1] great B.C. 167
enough for an even more arrogant embassy than that other one was. Arrogance, especially of speech, is hated by the hot-tempered, but laughed at by the wise, especially if directed by an inferior against his superior; no one has ever thought it worthy of the death-penalty. There was danger, to be sure, that the Rhodians should despise the Romans! Even the gods are assailed by some with overbold language, but we have never heard that any one has on that account been struck by a thunderbolt.

XXIV. "What then remains, of which we must clear ourselves, if there was never a hostile action on our part, and if the overweening words of an envoy should produce a disgust of the ear,[2] not the ruin of a city? I hear that in conversations among yourselves an appraisal of damages, so to speak, is being made for our unexpressed desire;[3] some believe, gentlemen of the senate, that we favoured the king and preferred that he should win, and that therefore we should be punished by armed force; others of you feel that we did, to be sure, have this desire, but that we should not on that account be punished by armed force, for, they say, there is no provision in the law, written or unwritten, of any state that he who desires the death of his enemy, but does nothing to bring it about, shall incur capital punishment. To these men who free us of the penalty, but not of the guilt, we are indeed

legal procedure, both civil and criminal; establishment of fines by statute was rare. The Rhodian is continuing the figure of the prejudged case. The "unexpressed desire" was for Perseus' success, so the Romans thought; the Rhodians' actual preference was probably for a stalemate, since they thrived on the balance of power.

A.U.C. 587 mus; ipsi nobis hanc dicimus legem: si omnes voluimus,[1] quod arguimur—non distinguimus volun-
5 tatem a facto—, omnes plectamur; si alii principum nostrorum vobis, alii regi faverunt, non postulo ut propter nos, qui partium vestrarum fuimus, regis fautores salvi sint; illud deprecor, ne nos propter illos
6 pereamus. Non estis vos illis infestiores, quam civitas est[2] ipsa; et hoc quia[3] sciebant, plerique eorum aut profugerunt aut mortem sibi consciverunt; alii damnati a nobis in potestate vestra erunt, patres
7 conscripti. Ceteri Rhodii sicut gratiam nullam meriti hoc bello, ita ne poenam quidem sumus. Priorum nostrorum benefactorum cumulus hoc, quod nunc
8 cessatum in officio est, expleat. Cum tribus regibus gessistis bella per hos annos; ne plus obsit nobis, quod uno bello cessavimus, quam quod duobus bellis
9 pro vobis pugnavimus. Philippum, Antiochum, Persea tamquam tris sententias ponite: duae nos absolvunt, una[4] dubia est; ut gravior sit, illi de nobis si[4] iudicarent, damnati essemus; vos iudicatis, patres conscripti, sit Rhodus in terris an funditus
10 deleatur; non enim de bello deliberatis, patres conscripti, quod inferre potestis, gerere non potestis, cum nemo Rhodiorum arma adversus vos sit[5] laturus.
11 Si perseverabitis in ira, tempus a vobis petemus,

[1] voluimus *Vascosanus*: volumus *V*.

[2] est *Madvig*: et *V*. [3] quia *I. Perizonius*: qui *V*.

[4] una *Fr*: una aut *V*: si *add. Fr*: *om. V*: *cola ita disposuit H. J. Müller*. *Post legere vult:* una aut dubia est aut gravior. Sit: illi de nobis iudicarent, damnati essemus. "one is either undecided, or rather unfavourable. Be it so, they would be passing judgement, whether we were guilty or not guilty."





grateful; but these are the terms which we ourselves B.C. 167 set for ourselves: if we all have willed that of which we are accused—we do not separate the will from the deed—let us all suffer the penalty; but if some of our leaders favoured you, and others the king, I do not ask that because of us who sided with you the partizans of the king should be untouched; I merely beg that we may not perish because of them. You are no more hostile to them than is our state itself, and because they knew this, many of them have either fled or committed suicide; others who have been found guilty by us will be placed in your hands, gentlemen of the senate. The rest of us at Rhodes have no more deserved punishment during this war than we have deserved gratitude, either. Let the store of our previous helpful acts make good the present omission of service. You have waged wars against three kings during these years; let not our slackness in one war be, to our hurt, of more importance than the fact that we fought on your side in two wars. Take account of Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus as if of the vote of three judges; two acquit us, the third is undecided; suppose that it is for our condemnation; even so, if the Kings were judging us, we should indeed lose our case, but your judgment, gentlemen of the senate, determines whether Rhodes shall exist on earth or shall be destroyed root and branch. For you are not deliberating about war, gentlemen of the senate; you can declare it, but you cannot wage it, for not a man of Rhodes will bear arms against you. If you will not abate your wrath, we shall ask of you time in which to report

[5] sit *add. Novák*: *om. V*.

A.U.C. 587 quo hanc funestam legationem domum referamus; omnia libera capita, quidquid Rhodiorum virorum feminarum est, cum omni pecunia nostra naves con-
12 scendemus ac relictis penatibus publicis privatisque Romam veniemus et omni auro et argento, quidquid publici, quidquid[1] privati est, in comitio, in vestibulo curiae vestrae cumulato, corpora nostra coniugumque ac liberorum vestrae potestati permittemus, hic
13 passuri, quodcumque patiendum erit; procul ab oculis nostris urbs nostra diripiatur, incendatur.
14 Hostis Rhodios esse Romani iudicare possunt, facere non possunt;[2] est enim et nostrum aliquod de nobis iudicium, quo numquam iudicabimus[3] nos vestros hostis, nec quicquam hostile, etiam si omnia patiemur, faciemus."

XXV. Secundum talem orationem universi rursus prociderunt supplices[4] ramosque oleae iactantes; tandem excitati curia excesserunt. Tunc sententiae
2 interrogari coeptae. Infestissimi Rhodiis erant, qui consules praetoresve aut legati gesserant in Macedonia bellum. Plurimum causam eorum adiuvit M. Porcius Cato, qui, asper ingenio, tum lenem mitemque
3 senatorem egit. Non inseram simulacrum viri copiosi,[5] quae dixerit referendo: ipsius oratio scripta

[1] quidquid . . . quidquid *Fr*: quaequod . . . quid *V*.
[2] possunt, facere non possunt *Vahlen*: possunt teste *V*: possunt, teste se *Harant*.
[3] quo . . . iudicabimus *J. F. Gronovius*: quod . . . iudicauimus *V*.
[4] supplices *ibi posuit Boot*: *post* oleae *V*.





home on this fatal mission; every free person, every B.C. 167
man and every woman of us in Rhodes will embark on ships with all our money and, abandoning our homes and our altars, will come to Rome; we will heap up in the assembly-ground and in the entry of your senate-house all our gold and our silver, whether owned by the state or its citizens, and will put our persons and those of our wives and children in your power, that we may suffer here whatever we must suffer;[1] far from our sight be the plundering and burning of our city. The Romans may judge that the Rhodians are enemies, but they cannot make them so. For we have also in us the power of passing judgment on ourselves, and we shall never adjudge ourselves your enemies, nor commit any act of hostility, though we suffer the utmost disaster."

XXV. Following a speech to this effect all the envoys again cast themselves down in the posture of suppliants, waving their olive-branches; after some time they were made to rise and left the senate-house. Then the roll-call of opinions began. The chief enemies of the Rhodians were those who had been conducting the war in Macedonia as consuls, praetors, or staff-officers. Great aid to the cause of Rhodes was given by Marcus Porcius Cato, who, though of a harsh temperament, on this occasion played the part of a tolerant and mild senator. I shall not include here a pale wraith of this eloquent man by reporting what he said; his own speech is

[1] Livy perhaps had in mind the appeal of the whole people of Tusculum, VIII. xxxvii. 9.

[5] viri copiosi, quae *Fr*: uiricopiasidque *V*: veri, copiose quae *Madvig*.

A.U.C. 587
4 extat, Originum quinto libro inclusa. Rhodiis
responsum ita redditum est ut nec hostes fierent nec
socii permanerent.
Philocrates et Astymedes principes legationis erant.
5 Partim[1] cum Philocrate renuntiare Rhodum lega-
tionem placuit, partim cum Astymede Romae subsis-
tere, qui[2] quae agerentur scirent[3] certioresque suos
6 facerent.[4] In praesentia deducere ante certam diem ex
Lycia Cariaque iusserunt praefectos. Haec Rhodum
nuntiata, quae per se tristia fuissent, quia maioris mali
levatus erat timor, cum bellum timuissent, in gaudium
7 verterunt.[5] Itaque extemplo coronam viginti milium
aureorum decreverunt; Theodotum, praefectum
classis, in eam legationem miserunt. Societatem ab
Romanis ita volebant peti ut nullum de ea re scitum
populi fieret aut litteris mandaretur, quod, nisi
impetrarent, maior a repulsa ignominia[6] esset.
8 Praefecti classis id unius erat ius, ut agere de ea re
sine rogatione ulla perlata posset.
9 Nam ita per tot annos in amicitia fuerant, ut sociali
foedere se cum Romanis non inligarent, ob nullam

[1] partim *Madvig*: partem *V*.
[2] qui *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om. V*.
[3] scirent *J. F. Gronovius*: sciret *V*.
[4] facerent *J. F. Gronovius*: faceret *V*.
[5] verterunt *Heusinger*: renuntiata uerierunt *V*.
[6] a repulsa ignominia *Kreyssig*: apulsaisnomina *V*.

[1] Small parts of this speech are reported by Gellius VI (VII) 3, especially 35. 37. 50, where arguments appear which Livy puts into the mouth of the Rhodian. Cato was an anti-imperialist, at least as to expansion eastward, which involved contact with what he regarded as the debilitating culture of Greece, so that his attitude in this matter was sincere, not a pose.





preserved in written form, as part of the fifth book of his "Beginnings."[1] The reply to the Rhodians was couched in such form that they were neither declared enemies nor continued to be allies. B.C. 167

Philocrates and Astymedes were the leaders of this embassy. It was decided that some of them with Philocrates should report to Rhodes about the embassy, while some remained at Rome with Astymedes to keep track of what was being done and inform their people. For the time being orders were given that they should withdraw their governors from Lycia and Caria by a certain date. These actions were reported at Rhodes; of themselves they would have been grievous, but were turned into a cause for rejoicing, because the Rhodians were relieved of fear of a greater evil, since they had feared war. So they immediately voted a crown of twenty thousand gold pieces. They sent Theodotus,[2] the admiral of their fleet, on this embassy. They wanted to ask the Romans for an alliance in such fashion that no decree of the people concerning it should be passed or committed to dispatches, because if they did not obtain their request, the disgrace of an open repulse would be greater. The admiral of the fleet alone had the right to negotiate for such a purpose without the passing of any enabling resolution.

For the Rhodians had for all these years[3] maintained their friendship in such a way as not to bind themselves to the Romans by any treaty of alliance,

[2] Frequently mentioned by Polybius as a pro-Roman, *e.g.*, XXVII. 14 (11), where the name is given as Theaedetus.
[3] Polybius XXX. 5. 6 says 140 years; the first embassy from Rhodes recorded by Livy in the extant text is over 100 years later, in 201 B.C., XXXI. ii. 1.

A.U.C. 587
aliam causam, quam ne spem regibus absciderent
auxilii sui, si quid[1] opus esset, neu sibi ipsis fructus
10 ex benignitate et fortuna eorum percipiendi. Tunc
utique petenda societas videbatur, non quae tutiores
eos ab aliis faceret—nec enim timebant quemquam
praeter Romanos—sed quae ipsis Romanis minus
suspectos.
11 Sub idem fere tempus et Caunii descivere ab iis, et
12 Mylassenses Euromensium oppida occuparunt. Non
ita fracti animi civitatis erant, ut non sentirent, si
Lycia et Caria ademptae ab Romanis forent, cetera
aut se ipsa per defectionem liberarent aut a finitimis
occuparentur, includi se insulae parvae et sterilis agri
litoribus, quae nequaquam alere tantae urbis popu-
13 lum posset. Missa igitur iuventute propere et
Caunios, quamquam Cibyratarum asciverant auxilia,
coegerunt imperio parere; et Mylassensis Alabandens-
isque, qui Euromensium[2] provinciam ademptum et
ipsi coniuncto exercitu venerant,[3] circa Orthosiam
acie vicerunt.

XXVI. Dum haec ibi, alia in Macedonia, alia Romae[4] geruntur, interim in[5] Illyrico L. Anicius rege Gentio, sicut ante dictum est, in potestatem redacto

[1] quid *Kreyssig*: quodid *V*.
[2] Alabandensisque, qui Euromensium *Bekker*: alabandeniquequialabande siumeuroaemensium *V*.
[3] et . . . venerant *Madvig*: at . . . venerunt *V*.
[4] Romae *Fr*: Romae in Asia *V*.
[5] in *add. Fr*: *om. V*.

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[1] Alabanda and Mylassa lay to north and south, respectively, of Euromus. Rhodes had been interested in Euromus for some time, as shown by XXXII. xxxiii. 6, and probably by XXXIII. xxx. 3. If Livy's order of events is right, this early interest would explain why Rhodes kept Euromus, after the "liberation" of Caria by the Romans; but Polybius puts the "liberation" after an interval following the return of the embassy, and the fighting may have taken place during this interval. Mylassa was left "tax-exempt," presumably autonomous, by the settlement with Antiochus, XXXVIII. xxxix. 8.





precisely for the purpose of not cutting off hope on B.C. 167
the part of the kings that they would come to their aid, if need arose, as well as their own hope of reaping a harvest from the good will and good fortune of the kings. At this time they felt that they should by all means seek an alliance, not to protect themselves against other peoples, for they feared no one but the Romans, but to alleviate the Romans' suspicion of themselves.

At about the same time the Caunians revolted from them, and Mylassa seized the towns of the Euromenses. The spirit of Rhodes was not so broken that they did not perceive that if Lycia and Caria were taken away by the Romans, and the rest of their possessions either freed themselves by revolt or were seized by the neighbours, they would be hemmed in by the shores of a small island of infertile soil, which could by no means support the population of so large a city. Troops were therefore promptly sent and the Caunians compelled to accept their rule, even though forces of Cibyra were called in by the Caunians. Mylassa too and Alabanda, which had also come to join Mylassa in taking away the province of Euromus,[1] were defeated in battle near Orthosia.

XXVI. While these events were occuring in Asia, and the previously-mentioned events in Macedonia and at Rome, in Illyricum meanwhile, after taking King Gentius into custody, as previously related, Lucius Anicius put Gabinius in charge of the garrison

A.U.C. 587

2 Scodrae, quae regia fuerat, praesidio imposito
Gabinium praefecit, Rhizoni et Olcinio, urbibus
3 opportunis, C. Licinium. Praepositis his Illyrico,
reliquo exercitu [1] in Epirum est profectus. Ubi
prima Phanote ei dedita est omni multitudine [2] cum
4 infulis obviam effusa. Hinc [3] praesidio imposito in
Molossidem transgressus, cuius omnibus oppidis
praeter Passaronem et Tecmonem et Phylacen et
Horreum receptis primum ad Passaronem ducit.
5 Antinous et Theodotus principes eius civitatis erant,
insignes et favore Persei et odio adversus Romanos;
iidem universae genti auctores desciscendi ab
6 Romanis. Hi conscientia privatae noxae, quia ipsis
nulla spes veniae erat, ut communi ruina patriae
opprimerentur, clauserunt portas, multitudinem ut
7 mortem servituti praeponerent hortantes. Nemo
adversus praepotentis viros hiscere audebat; tandem
Theodotus quidam, nobilis et ipse adulescens, cum
maior a Romanis metus timorem a principibus suis
vicisset,

"Quae vos rabies" inquit "agitat, qui duorum
hominum noxae civitatem accessionem facitis? [4]
8 Equidem pro patria qui letum oppetissent, saepe
fando audivi; qui [5] patriam pro se perire aequum
censerent, hi primi inventi sunt. Quin aperimus

[1] reliquo exercitu *Wesenberg*: reliquae exercitum *V*.
[2] dedita est omni multitudine *Madvig*: dedita totomniummultitudinem *V*.
[3] hinc *Duker*: hic *V*.
[4] civitatem . . . facitis *J. F. Gronovius*: civitates . . . factis *V*.
[5] qui *add. Fr*: *om. V*.

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[1] They were on the coast.
[2] A different district of Epirus, Phanote being in Chaonia.





placed in Scodra, the capital, and Gaius Licinius in B.C. 167
charge of the strategic cities [1] of Rhizon and Olcinium. After putting these men in charge of Illyricum, Anicius marched into Epirus with the rest of his army. In that region, Phanote the first city surrendered to him, all its population coming out with fillets to meet him. He placed a garrison here and passed on to Molossis,[2] and on recovery of all of its cities except Passaron, Tecmon, Phylace, and Horreum, he led his force first against Passaron. Antinoüs and Theodotus were the leading men of this city, distinguished both by their attachment to Perseus and their hatred of the Romans, and likewise responsible for the defection of the whole people from the Romans.[3] Because of their feeling of personal guilt, since there was no hope of pardon for them, these men shut the gates, in order to be buried in the general downfall of their city, and urged the people to prefer death to slavery. No one dared open his mouth against such all-powerful men. At last a certain Theodotus, a youth of equal rank, spoke out, his dread of the Romans outweighing his timidity before the chief men of his city.

"What is this madness," said he, "which is goading you, that you make the state an accessory to the crime of two men? Certainly I have often heard tales of those who met death for the fatherland; but these are the first ever known to believe that the fatherland ought to die for them. Why do we not

[3] Polybius XXVII. 15 (13) and XXX. 7 says that at the outset of the war, the Epirote leaders, including Antinoüs and the Cephalus mentioned below, wished to keep out of the war, though maintaining their alliance with Rome; but Charops the younger, by traducing them to Rome, compelled them to declare for Perseus in order to avoid arrest by the Romans.

A.U.C. 587

portas et imperium accipimus, quod orbis terrarum
accepit?"
9 Haec dicentem cum multitudo sequeretur, Anti-
nous et Theodotus in primam stationem hostium
inruperunt atque ibi offerentes se ipsi volneribus
10 interfecti; urbs dedita est Romanis. Simili perti-
nacia Cephali principis[1] clausum Tecmonem ipso
interfecto per deditionem recepit. Nec Phylace nec
11 Horreum oppugnationem tulerunt. Pacata Epiro
divisisque in hiberna copiis per opportunas urbes,
regressus ipse in Illyricum Scodrae, quo quinque le-
gati ab Roma venerant, evocatis ex tota provincia
12 principibus conventum habuit. Ibi pro tribunali
pronuntiavit de sententia consilii senatum popu-
lumque Romanum Illyrios esse liberos iubere;
praesidia ex omnibus oppidis, arcibus,[2] castellis sese
13 deducturum. Non solum liberos, sed etiam im-
munes fore Issenses et Taulantios, Dassaretiorum
Pirustas, Rhizonitas, Olciniatas, quod incolumi
14 Gentio ad Romanos defecissent. Daorsis quo-
que immunitatem dare, quod relicto Caravantio cum
armis ad Romanos transissent. Scodrensibus et
Dassarensibus et Selepitanis ceterisque Illyriis
vectigal dimidium eius, quod regi pependissent,[3]
15 impositum.[4] Inde in tres partes Illyricum divisit.
Unam eam fecit, quae supra Pistam[5] est, alteram
Labeatas omnis, tertiam Agravonitas et Rhizonitas

[1] Cephali principis *J. F. Gronovius*: cepalonis principiis *V*.

[2] arcibus *Wesenberg*: arciuusest *V*.

[3] pependissent *Sigonius*: pendissent *V*.

[4] impositum *add. Heraeus*: *om. V*.

[5] quae supra Pistam *C. Müller*: q supra dictam *V*: Issam *Madvig*.





B.C. 167

open our gates and accept the overlordship which the world has accepted?"

When the crowd concurred with these remarks, Antinoüs and Theodotus charged into the first outpost of the enemy and, exposing themselves to wounds, were there killed; the city was surrendered to the Romans. By similar obstinacy on the part of Cephalus, the leading citizen, Tecmon was closed, but when he was killed, it was recovered by surrender. Neither Phylace nor Horreum stood up against attack. When order had been established in Epirus, and the troops distributed in winter quarters among suitable cities, Anicius returned to Illyricum, summoned the chief men from all his theatre of operations, and held a conference at Scodra, where the five commissioners from Rome had arrived. There he announced as officer in charge, on the advice of his council, that the Roman senate and people gave the Illyrians their freedom; he would remove his garrisons from all towns, citadels, and forts. Not only freedom, but tax-exemption as well would be granted, he said, to the people of Issa and Taulantia, and to the Pirustae among the Dassaretii as well as to Rhizon and Olcinium, because they had gone over to the Romans while Gentius was still undefeated. The Daorsi would also be granted tax-exemption, because they had abandoned Caravantius and gone over with their arms to the Romans. On the people of Scodra, the Dassarenses, the Selepitani, and the rest of the Illyrians a tax was laid of half what they had paid to the king. Next, Anicius divided Illyricum into three parts. He made the first of these the region above Pista, the second all the Labeatae, and the third the Agravonitae, Rhizon

A.U.C. 587

et Olciniatas accolasque eorum. Hac formula dicta Illyrico [1] ipse inde [2] Epiri Passaronem in hiberna redit.

XXVII. Dum haec in Illyrico geruntur, Paulus ante adventum decem legatorum Q. Maximum filium iam ab Roma regressum ad Aeginium et Agassas di-
2 ripiendas mittit, Agassas, quod, cum Marcio consuli tradidissent urbem petita ultro societate Romana, defecerant rursus ad Persea; Aeginiensium novum
3 crimen erat: famae de victoria Romanorum fidem non habentes in quosdam militum urbem ingressos
4 hostiliter [3] saevierant. Ad Aeniorum quoque urbem diripiendam L. Postumium misit, quod pertinacius quam finitimae civitates in armis fuerant.

5 Autumni fere tempus erat; cuius temporis initio ad circumeundam Graeciam visendaque, quae [4] nobilitata fama maiora auribus accepta sunt quam
6 oculis noscuntur, uti [5] statuit. Praeposito castris C. Sulpicio Gallo profectus cum haud magno comitatu, tegentibus latera Scipione filio et Athenaeo, Eumenis regis fratre, per Thessaliam Delphos petit,

[1] Illyrico *Madvig*: in Illyrico *V*.
[2] inde *Harant*: in *V*.
[3] hostiliter *Kreyssig*: quoque hostiliter urbem *V*.
[4] quae *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[5] uti *Madvig*: ut *V*.

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[1] This seems to be another version, or another phase, of the episode recorded in XLIV. xlvi. 3; if, as seems likely, Aeginium was in north-western Thessaly, its adherence to Perseus was more of a fault; but Paulus seems to have been looking for reasons which would justify the acquisition of plunder by the army. If, as Livy's arrangement implies, but does not make





and Olcinium and their neighbours. After announcing this charter for Illyricum, Anicius returned from there into Epirus to his winter-quarters at Passaron. B.C. 167

XXVII. While these events were occurring in Illyricum, Paulus sent his son Quintus Maximus, who had by this time returned from Rome, to sack Aeginium and Agassae before the arrival of the ten commissioners. In the case of Agassae, the reason was that, although they had surrendered their city to the consul Marcius with a voluntary request for alliance with Rome, they had again gone over to Perseus. The fault of Aeginium was recent; because they did not believe the rumour about the Roman victory, they had cruelly treated as enemies certain soldiers who had entered their city.[1] Paulus also sent Lucius Postumius to sack the city of Aenia, because they had maintained resistance more stubbornly than the neighbouring cities.

It was about the season of autumn; Paulus decided to employ the beginning of this season travelling about Greece and seeing the sights which are made so famous by repute that they are greater by hearsay than by visual acquaintance. Putting Gaius Sulpicius Gallus in charge of the camp, he set out with no large escort, his son Scipio and Athenaeus, the brother of King Eumenes, serving as his personal aides. He went through Thessaly to Delphi, the

certain, these events occurred a year after the fall of Perseus, the justification for them is thin. Assuming this time-interval, however, we may suppose that the arrangements of the senate (xvii. 1) were made with the benefit of advice from Paulus, and that Paulus' sightseeing mentioned below was more in order than it would have been soon after the battle of Pydna.

A.U.C. 587 7 inclutum oraculum. Ubi sacrificio Apollini facto in-
choatas in vestibulo columnas, quibus impositui sta-
tuas regis Persei fuerant, suis statuis victor destinavit.
8 Lebadiae quoque templum Iovis Trophonii adit; ibi
cum vidisset os specus, per quod oraculo utentes
sciscitatum deos descendunt, sacrificio Iovi Hercyn-
naeque facto, quorum ibi templum est, Chalcidem
ad spectaculum Euripi Euboeaeque, tantae [1] insulae,
9 ponte continenti iunctae descendit. A Chalcide
Aulidem traicit, trium milium spatio distantem,
portum inclutum statione quondam mille navium
Agamemnoniae classis, Dianaeque templum, ubi
navibus cursum ad Troiam filia victima aris admota
10 rex ille regum petiit. Inde Oropum [2] Atticae
ventum est, ubi pro deo vates antiquus [3] colitur
templumque vetustum est fontibus rivisque circa
11 amoenum; Athenas inde, plenas quidem et ipsas
vetustae [4] famae, multa tamen visenda habentis,
arcem, portus, muros Piraeum urbi iungentis, navalia,
monumenta [5] magnorum imperatorum, simulacra

[1] Euripi Euboeaeque, tantae *Weissenborn*: euripiaeuoque ante *V*.
[2] petiit. Inde Oropum *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[3] antiquus *Kreyssig*: anticum *V*.
[4] vetustae *Köhler*: vetustate *V*.
[5] monumenta *add. Crévier*: *om. V*.

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[1] Polybius XXX. 10. 2 (14) reports the statues of Paulus as actually erected.

[2] The identification of the oracular hero Trophonius with Zeus seems to be unofficial, though Strabo IX. ii. 38 (p. 414) also makes it. A description of the sanctuary, including the shrine of Hercynna, a nymph of a spring and stream, is given by Pausanias IX. xxxix.

[3] The ships enumerated in Homer's Catalogue are 1186;





famous oracular shrine. There he offered sacrifice B.C. 167 to Apollo, and when he saw the columns which had been begun at the entrance, on which they were going to place statues of King Perseus, he reserved them for his own statues as conqueror.[1] At Lebadia also he visited the shrine of Jupiter Trophonius;[2] there he viewed the mouth of the cave through which those who use the oracle go down to make their inquiries of the gods, and offered sacrifice to Jupiter and Hercynna, whose temple is there. Paulus then went down to Chalcis to see the spectacle of the Euripus and of that great island Euboea which is joined by a bridge to the mainland. From Chalcis he crossed to Aulis, three miles away, with its harbour famous as the anchorage once upon a time for the thousand ships [3] of Agamemnon's fleet, and its temple of Diana, where the renowned king of kings sought passage to Troy for his ships by bringing his daughter as a victim to the altar. Thence Paulus went to Oropus in Attica, where an ancient prophet is worshipped as a god, and there is an old temple made charming by springs and streams around it.[4] Thence he went to Athens, which is also replete with ancient glory, but nevertheless has many notable sights, the Acropolis, the harbours, the walls joining Piraeus to the city, the shipyards, the monuments of great

but the round number appears in Aeschylus, Vergil, and other poets before Marlowe.

[4] The "ancient prophet" was Amphiaraüs, of the Seven against Thebes. His sanctuary was established, according to archaeological evidence, near the end of the fifth century, and became a modest spa, which was favoured by the Romans; in 73 B.C., Amphiaraüs was officially recognized as a god by the consuls, with Cicero's assistance, and his lands were therefore tax-exempt, see Pausanias I. xxxiv and Fraser's note.

A.U.C. 587 deorum hominumque, omni genere et materiae et artium insignia.

XXVIII. Sacrificio Minervae, praesidi arcis, in urbe facto profectus Corinthum altero die pervenit.
2 Urbs erat tunc praeclara ante excidium; arx quoque et Isthmus praebuere spectaculum; arx intra moenia [1] in immanem altitudinem edita, scatens fontibus; Isthmus duo maria ab [2] occasu et ortu solis finitima artis faucibus dirimens. Sicyonem inde et Argos, nobiles urbes, adit; inde haud parem opibus
3 Epidaurum, sed inclutam Aesculapi nobili templo, quod quinque milibus passuum ab urbe distans nunc vestigiis revolsorum donorum, tum donis dives erat, quae remediorum salutarium aegri mercedem sacra-
4 verant deo. Inde Lacedaemonem adit, non operum magnificentia, sed disciplina institutisque memorabilem; [3] unde per Megalopolim Olympiam escendit.
5 Ubi et alia quidem spectanda ei [4] visa; Iovem velut praesentem intuens motus animo est. Itaque haud secus, quam si in Capitolio immolaturus esset, sacrificium amplius solito apparari iussit.

6 Ita peragrata Graecia, ut nihil eorum, quae quisque Persei bello privatim aut publice sensisset, inquireret,

[1] intra moenia *J. F. Gronovius*: inter omnia *V.*
[2] ab *add. Fr*: *om. V.*
[3] memorabilem *Fr*: memorabilem ac silentiam *V.*
[4] ei *Madvig*: et *V.*

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[1] *I.e.*, Athena Polias, or Poliouchos; Livy gives her the same title in XXXI. xxx. 9.





generals, and the statues of gods and men—statues notable for every sort of material and artistry. B.C. 167

XXVIII. After offering sacrifice to Minerva, the Guardian of the Citadel,[1] in Athens, Paulus set out for Corinth and reached it on the second day. The city was then world-famous before its destruction; its citadel and the Isthmus were also sights to see; the citadel rising to a huge height, enclosed by the city wall and flowing with springs, while the Isthmus separated by its narrow passage two neighbouring seas lying toward the sunrise and sunset. Thence Paulus went to Sicyon and Argos, both famous cities; from there he visited Epidaurus, by no means as wealthy a town, but noted for the famous temple of Aesculapius which, at a distance of five miles from the city, is now rich in the traces of gifts of which it has been robbed,[2] but then was rich in the gifts themselves which the sick had consecrated to the god as payment for health-giving remedies. Next he visited Lacedaemon, notable not for the splendour of its buildings, but for its discipline and institutions; from there he went up to Olympia via Megalopolis. At Olympia he saw many sights which he considered worth seeing; but he was stirred to the quick as he gazed on what seemed Jupiter's very self. Therefore he ordered a sacrifice prepared larger than usual, just as if he had been going to sacrifice on the Capitol.

In this way he travelled through Greece, raising no question as to how either any individual or any state had felt about the war with Perseus, so as not to

[2] Perhaps by Sulla (Pausanias IX. vii. 5), who took the temple-treasures for his soldiers, and reimbursed the god with lands in Boeotia.

A.U.C. 587

ne cuius metu sollicitaret animos sociorum, Deme-
triadem cum reverteretur,[1] in itinere sordidata turba
Aetolorum occurrit; mirantique et percunctanti,
7 quid esset, defertur quingentos quinquaginta prin-
cipes ab Lycisco et Tisippo, circumsesso senatu per
milites Romanos, missos ab[2] A. Baebio, praefecto[2]
praesidii, interfectos, alios in exilium actos esse,
bonaque eorum qui interfecti essent et exulum
8 possideri.[3] Iussis, qui arguebantur, Amphipoli adesse
ipse convento[4] Cn. Octavio Demetriade, postquam
fama accidit traiecisse iam mare decem legatos,
omnibus aliis omissis Apolloniam ad eos pergit.
9 Quo cum Perseus obviam Amphipoli omni solutus[5]
custodia processisset—id diei iter est—, ipsum qui-
dem benigne adlocutus est; ceterum postquam in
castra ad Amphipolim venit, graviter increpuisse tra-
10 ditur C. Sulpicium, primum quod Persea tam procul
a se vagari per provinciam passus esset,[6] deinde quod
adeo indulsisset militibus, ut nudare tegulis muros
urbis ad tegenda hibernacula sua pateretur; referri-
que tegulas et refici detecta,[7] sicut fuerant, iussit.
11 Et Persea quidem cum maiore filio Philippo traditos
A. Postumio in custodiam misit; filiam cum minore
filio a Samothrace accitos Amphipolim omni liberali
cultu habuit.

[1] reverteretur *Wesenberg*: revertit *V*: cum comitatu revertit *Heraeus*.
[2] ab . . . praefecto *add. Kreyssig*: *om. V*.
[3] possideri *Kreyssig*: possidere *V*.
[4] convento *Kreyssig*: conventu *V*.





B.C. 167

trouble the minds of the allies by any fear. When he was returning to Demetrias, he met a crowd of Aetolians in mourning; on his asking in surprise what was the matter, it was reported to him that five hundred and fifty leading men had been killed by Lyciscus and Tisippus, while the senate was surrounded by Roman soldiers sent by Aulus Baebius, the commander of the garrison; others had been driven into exile, and the property of those killed and of the exiles had been seized. Ordering the accused men to meet him at Amphipolis, he joined Gnaeus Octavius in Demetrias. When a report arrived that the ten commissioners had by now crossed the sea, he gave up everything else and went to them at Apollonia. There Perseus came to meet him from Amphipolis—a day's journey—free of any guard. Paulus greeted him in kindly fashion but after he arrived in camp at Amphipolis, he is said to have rebuked Gaius Sulpicius severely, first because he had allowed Perseus to roam so far from him through the province, and secondly because he had allowed the soldiers the great liberty of stripping the city walls of tiles, in order to roof over their winter-quarters; Paulus ordered the tiles taken back and the uncovered areas repaired to their previous condition. Perseus and his elder son Philip he turned over to Aulus Postumius and put under guard; Perseus' daughter and his younger son he summoned to Amphipolis from Samothrace and maintained completely in the state of free persons.

[5] omni solutus *Madvig*: nimissolutiscuius *V*.
[6] esset *J. F. Gronovius*: est *V*.
[7] refici detecta *Madvig*: referri et tecta *V*.

A.U.C. 587
XXIX. Ipse, ubi dies venit quo adesse Amphipoli
denos principes civitatium iusserat litterasque omnis,
quae ubique depositae essent, et pecuniam regiam
conferri, cum decem legatis circumfusa omni multi-
2 tudine Macedonum in tribunali consedit. Adsuetis
regio imperio tamen novi imperii formam [1] terribilem
praebuit tribunal, summoto aditus,[2] praeco, accensus,
insueta omnia oculis auribusque quae vel socios,
3 nedum hostis victos, terrere possent. Silentio per
praeconem facto Paulus Latine, quae senatui, quae
sibi ex consilii sententia visa essent, pronuntiavit.
Ea Cn. Octavius praetor—nam et ipse aderat—
interpretata sermone Graeco referebat.

4 Omnium primum liberos esse iubere Macedonas,
habentis urbes easdem agrosque, utentes legibus
suis, annuos creantis magistratus; tributum dimi-
dium eius, quod pependissent regibus, pendere
5 populo Romano. Deinde in quattuor regiones dividi
Macedoniam: unam fore et primam partem quod
6 agri inter Strymonem et Nessum sit amnem; acces-
surum [3] huic parti trans Nessum ad orientem versum,
qua Perseus tenuisset, vicos, castella, oppida, praeter
Aenum et Maroneam et Abdera; cis [4] Strymonem
autem vergentia ad occasum, Bisalticam omnem
7 cum Heraclea, quam Sinticen appellant. Secundam
fore regionem, quam ab ortu Strymo amplecteretur

[1] novi imperii formam *Harant*: novi in formā *V*.
[2] aditus *Kreyssig*: additu *V*.
[3] accessurum *Fr, Hertz*: sitsuccessurum *V*.
[4] Abdera; cis *Madvig*: Abderatis *V*.

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[1] Typical Roman procedure; so ten leading men are summoned from some Latin colonies in XXIX. xv. 5; the Twelve Tables were also established by a board of ten.

[2] Amounting to 100 talents, according to Plutarch, *Aemilius* xxviii. 3.





XXIX. When the day arrived on which he had ordered ten leading men from each city [1] to be at Amphipolis, and all official despatches which had been filed anywhere and the royal money to be brought in, Paulus with the ten commissioners took his official seat surrounded by the whole crowd of Macedonians. Although the latter were used to a royal court, yet the ceremonial of a new master was frightening as it met their eyes—the consul's bench, his entrance after the way had been cleared, the herald, and the orderly, all things novel to their eyes and ears, which might have inspired terror in allies, to say nothing of conquered enemies. After the herald had commanded silence Paulus announced in Latin the decisions of the senate, as well as his own, made by the advice of his council. This announcement was translated into Greek and repeated by Gnaeus Octavius the praetor—for he too was present. B.C. 167

The terms were: first of all the Macedonians were given their freedom; they were to keep their own cities and lands, to use their own laws, and to elect annual magistrates; they were to pay to the Roman People half the tax which they had paid to their kings.[2] Next, Macedonia was to be divided into four regions; one, the first section, would comprise the land between the Strymon and Nessus Rivers; to this region were to be added across the Nessus to the eastward the villages, forts, and towns which Perseus had held except Aenus, Maronea, and Abdera; on this side of the Strymon, too, toward the west there was included all the country of the Bisaltae, including Heraclea, called Sintice. The second region was to be the region bounded on the east by the Strymon River, except

A.U.C. 587

amnis, praeter Sinticen Heracleam et Bisaltas, ab occasuque Axius[1] terminaret fluvius, additis Paeonibus, qui prope Axium flumen ad regionem orientis
8 colerent. Tertia pars facta, quam Axius ab oriente, Peneus amnis ab occasu cingunt; ad septentrionem Bora mons obicitur; adiecta huic parti regio Paeonia, qua ab occasu praeter Axium amnem porrigitur; Edessa quoque et Beroea eodem concesserunt.
9 Quarta regio trans Boram[2] montem, una parte confinis Illyrico, altera Epiro. Capita regionum, ubi concilia fierent, primae regionis Amphipolim, secundae Thessalonicen, tertiae Pellam, quartae Pelagoniam fecit. Eo concilia suae cuiusque regionis indici, pecuniam conferri, ibi magistratus creari iussit.

10 Pronuntiavit deinde neque conubium neque commercium agrorum aedificiorumque inter se placere
11 cuiquam extra fines regionis suae esse. Metalla quoque auri atque argenti non exerceri, ferri et aeris permitti.[3] Vectigal exercentibus dimidium eius impositum quod pependissent regi. Et sale invecto
12 uti vetuit. Dardanis repetentibus Paeoniam, quod et sua fuisset et continens esset finibus suis, omnibus

[1] occasuque Axius *Madvig*: occasuquaacsius *V*.
[2] Boram *Fr*: dorsuna *V*.
[3] ferri et aeris permitti *Fr*: nec fieri et aeris permittit *V*.

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[1] What river is meant cannot be definitely determined; the famous Peneüs of Thessaly is too far south to be even the southern boundary, except at the sea-coast; but since Mount Bora is north-west rather than north of this region, Livy or his informant may have a distorted impression of the limits.

[2] This is usually the name of a region, not a city; perhaps Heraclea Lyncestis is meant; it would be appropriately central.





for Heraclea Sintice, and the Bisaltae, while the B.C. 167
western boundary would be the Axius River; this would also include the Paeonians who were settled near the Axius River in an easterly direction. The third region was established as that bounded on the east by the Axius, and on the west by the Peneüs River;[1] to the north Mount Bora forms a barrier; to this region was added that part of Paeonia which stretches along the west bank of the Axius River; Edessa and Beroea fell in the same part. The fourth region was across Mount Bora, part marching with Illyricum, the rest with Epirus. The capitals of the regions, where their assemblies were to meet, were established: for the first region, Amphipolis, for the second, Thessalonica, for the third, Pella, and for the fourth, Pelagonia.[2] In those places Paulus ordered an assembly[3] of each region to be appointed, money to be gathered, and magistrates elected.

Paulus then announced that it had been decided that no one should be allowed the right of marriage or of trading in land or buildings outside the bounds of his own region. Furthermore, the mines of gold and silver were not to be worked, but those of iron and copper were permitted. The tax on those who worked the mines was set at half what they had paid to the king. The use of imported salt was banned.[4] When the Dardanians asked for the return of Paeonia, on the ground that it had been theirs and adjoined

[3] Perhaps modelled after that of the Achaean League; if not formally restricted to men with a property qualification, it would become so, except for the populace of the capital itself.

[4] Perhaps as a further ban on frequent communication between the regions.

A.U.C. 587 dare libertatem pronuntiavit, qui sub regno Persei
13 fuissent. Post non impetratam Paeoniam salis commercium dedit; tertiae regioni imperavit, ut Stobos Paeoniae deveherent, pretiumque statuit.
14 Navalem materiam et ipsos caedere et alios pati vetuit. Regionibus, quae adfines barbaris essent—excepta autem tertia omnes erant—, permisit, ut praesidia armata in finibus extremis haberent.

XXX. Haec pronuntiata primo die conventus varie adfecerunt animos. Libertas praeter spem data
2 adrexit et levatum annuum vectigal; regionatim commercio[1] interruptis sua videri lacerata,[2] tamquam animali in artus alterum alterius indigentis distracto; adeo, quanta Macedonia esset, quam divisui facilis, quam se[3] ipsa quaeque contenta[4]
3 pars esset, Macedones quoque ignorabant. Pars prima Bisaltas habet, fortissimos viros—trans Nessum amnem incolunt et circa Strymonem—, et multas frugum proprietates et metalla et opportunitatem Amphipolis, quae obiecta claudit omnes ab oriente
4 sole in Macedoniam aditus. Secunda pars celeberrimas urbes Thessalonicen et[5] Cassandream habet, ad hoc Pallenen, fertilem ac frugiferam terram; maritimas quoque opportunitates ei praebent portus ad Toronen ac[6] montem Atho Aeneamque et Acanthum,[7] alii ad Thessaliam[8] insulamque

[1] commercio *Bekker*: mesico *V*.
[2] sua videri lacerata *Harant*: advideri lacerata *V*: ita videri lacerata Macedonia *Vahlen*.
[3] quam se *H. J. Müller*: et a se *V*.
[4] contenta *Sigonius*: cō tempta *V*.
[5] et *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[6] Toronen ac *Drakenborch*: toroneam *V*.
[7] Aeneamque et Acanthum *H. J. Müller*: eneaeuocanthuno *V*.





their boundaries, Paulus proclaimed that freedom was B.C. 167
being given to all those who had been subjects of Perseus. After refusing them Paeonia, he granted them the right to import salt; he ordered the third region to carry salt to Stobi in Paeonia, and he set a price on it. He forbade the Macedonians to cut ship-timbers, or to permit others to do so. The regions which bordered on barbarians—and this was true of all except the third—were allowed to have armed guards along their frontiers.

XXX. The announcement of these arrangements on the first day of the gathering aroused mixed emotions. The unexpected grant of freedom cheered men, as well as the lightening of the annual taxation; but to those who were cut off from trading between regions, their country seemed as mangled as an animal disjointed into parts, each of which needed the other; so unaware were the Macedonians themselves of the size of Macedonia, of how it lent itself to division, and of how self-sufficient each part was.

The assets of the first region are the Bisaltae, men of great courage (they live beyond the Nessus and around the Strymon), soil suitable for many different crops, mines, and the strategic position of Amphipolis, the interposition of which bars off every approach to Macedonia from the sunrise side. The second region has those highly flourishing cities Thessalonica and Cassandrea, and in addition, Pallene, a fertile and fruitful land; facilities for seafaring are also furnished it by the harbours at Torone, Mount Athos, Aenea, and Acanthus, some of which conveniently face Thessaly and the island of

[8] ad Thessaliam *add. Harant*: *om. V*.

A.U.C. 587

Euboeam, alii ad Hellespontum opportune versi.
5 Tertia regio nobilis urbes Edessam et Beroeam et Pellam habet et Vettiorum bellicosam gentem, incolas quoque permultos Gallos et Illyrios, impigros
6 cultores. Quartam regionem Eordaei et Lyncestae et Pelagones incolunt; iuncta his Atintania et
7 Tymphaeis et Elimiotis. Frigida haec omnis duraque cultu et aspera plaga est; cultorum quoque ingenia terrae similia habet. Ferociores eos et accolae barbari faciunt, nunc bello exercentes, nunc in pace
8 miscentes ritus suos. Divisa itaque Macedonia[1] partium usibus separatis, quanta universa esset, ostendit.[2]

XXXI. Macedoniae formula dicta cum leges quoque se daturum ostendisset, Aetoli deinde citati. In qua cognitione magis utra pars Romanis, utra regi favisset quaesitum est, quam utra[3] fecisset iniuriam
2 aut accepisset; noxa liberati interfectores; exilium pulsis aeque ratum fuit ac mors interfectis; A. Baebius unus est damnatus, quod milites Romanos praebuisset ad ministerium caedis.

3 Hic eventus Aetolorum causae in omnibus Graeciae gentibus populisque eorum, qui partis Romanorum fuerant, inflavit ad intolerabilem superbiam animos et obnoxios pedibus eorum subiecit quos aliqua parte
4 suspicio favoris in regem contigerat. Tria genera

[1] itaque Macedonia *Madvig*: aitqaue Macedoniae *V*.
[2] universa esset, ostendit *Madvig*: universos tendit *V*.
[3] utra *Kreyssig*: utre *V*.

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[1] Since the Macedonians were to "use their own laws" (above, xxix. 4), this must refer to a code for the four federal governments, either new or a revision of previous laws to





B.C. 167

Euboea, and others the Hellespont. The third region has the famous cities of Edessa, Beroea, and Pella, and the warlike race of the Vettii, as well as a large population of Gauls and Illyrians, who are industrious farmers. The fourth region is inhabited by the Eordaei, Lyncestae, and Pelagonians; added to these are Atintania, Tymphaeis, and Elimiotis. This part of the world is as a whole cold, difficult to cultivate, and harsh; it has inhabitants of temperament like their land. These are also made fiercer by their barbarian neighbours, who now give them training in warfare, now intermingle their practices during peace. The partition of Macedonia therefore showed, by separating the assets of the regions, how great the country is as a whole.

XXXI. After the proclamation of the charter for Macedonia, Paulus declared that he would also lay down a law-code,[1] and then proceeded to summon the Aetolians. In this investigation, the question was more which side had favoured the king and which the Romans, than which had done wrong or had been wronged; the assassins were acquitted of guilt; the exile of the expelled was confirmed quite as definitely as the death of the slain; only Aulus Baebius was condemned for furnishing Roman soldiers to help carry out the slaughter.

This outcome of the case of the Aetolians raised to an unbearable pitch of pride the spirits of those in all the states and peoples of Greece who sided with the Romans, and crushed helplessly under their feet any who were in some respect tainted by suspicion of having favoured the king. There were three sorts of

meet the new arrangements and incorporate the Roman stipulations; cf. below, xxxii. 7.

A.U.C. 587

principum in civitatibus erant, duo, quae adulando aut Romanorum imperium aut amicitiam regum sibi privatim opes oppressis faciebant civitatibus; media una pars[1] utrique generi adversa libertatem leges-
5 que[2] tuebatur. His ut maior[3] apud suos caritas, ita minor ad externos gratia erat. Secundis rebus elati Romanorum partis eius fautores soli tum in magi-
6 stratibus, soli in legationibus erant. Hi cum frequentes et ex Peloponneso et ex Boeotia et ex aliis Graeciae conciliis adessent, implevere aures decem
7 legatorum: non eos tantum, qui se propalam per vanitatem iactassent tamquam hospites et amicos Persei, sed multo plures alios ex occulto favisse regi, qui[4] per speciem tuendae libertatis in conciliis
8 adversus Romanos omnia instruxissent, nec aliter eas mansuras in fide gentes, nisi fractis animis adversarum partium[5] aleretur confirmareturque auctoritas eorum qui nihil praeter imperium Romanorum spectarent.[6]

9 Ab his editis nominibus evocati litteris imperatoris ex Aetolia Acarnaniaque et Epiro et Boeotia, qui Romam ad causam dicendam sequerentur; in

[1] pars *add. Madvig*: *om. V*.
[2] legesque *Wölfflin*: leges *V*.
[3] ut maior *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[4] regi, qui *Madvig*: reliqui *V*.
[5] adversarum partium *Wesenberg*: aptium *V*.
[6] spectarent *J. F. Gronovius*: expectarentur *V*.

[1] Polybius XXX. 6 names three groups, but only of those accused of being anti-Roman; his first group, corresponding to Livy's third, or middle-of-the-road group, wanted the





B.C. 167

leaders in the states, two groups who by fawning upon the Roman power and the friendship of kings respectively gained personal wealth for themselves by tyrannizing over their cities; the middle group alone, opposing both the others, strove to guard independence and constitutionality.[1] Their reward was greater affection from their own people, and less favour in foreign quarters. Carried along on the tide of Roman success, the members of the pro-Roman party were then alone occupying all magistracies and serving as envoys. These gathered in great numbers both from the Peloponnesus and Boeotia and the other leagues of Greece, and filled the ears of the ten commissioners, saying that not only those who out of vanity openly boasted themselves guests and friends of Perseus, but many more who kept under cover, had sided with the king, and under the guise of preserving independence they had turned the whole organization of the league meetings against the Roman interest; these peoples, said their representatives, would not maintain loyalty unless the spirit of the opposition was crushed and the prestige sustained and strengthened of those who had no object in view but the power of Rome.

Names were furnished by these men, and their opponents from Aetolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Boeotia were summoned by dispatches from the general to follow him to Rome to stand trial.[2] Two

status quo undisturbed; the second wanted a decisive contest between Rome and Perseus, with victory for Perseus; the third group shared the sentiments of the second, and in addition were able to draw their states into open alliance with Perseus.

[2] According to Polybius XXX. 13 (10). 11, Paulus did not take the accusations at face-value.

A.U.C. 587

Achaiam ex decem legatorum numero profecti duo,
C. Claudius et Cn. Domitius, ut ipsi edicto evocarent.
10 Id duabus de causis factum, una quod fiduciae plus
animorumque esse Achaeis ad non parendum crede-
bant et forsitan etiam in periculo fore Callicraten et
11 ceteros criminum auctores delatoresque; altera cur
praesentes evocarent causa erat, quod ex aliis genti-
bus principum litteras deprensas in commentariis
regiis habebant, in Achaeis caecum erat crimen
nullis eorum litteris inventis.
12 Aetolis dimissis Acarnanum citata gens. In his
nihil novatum, nisi quod Leucas exempta est Acarna-
13 num concilio. Quaerendo deinde latius, qui publice
aut privatim partium regis fuissent, in Asiam quoque
14 cognitionem extendere et ad Antissam[1] in Lesbo
insula diruendam ac[2] traducendos Methymnam
Antissaeos Labeonem miserunt, quod Antenorem,
regium praefectum, quo tempore cum lembis circa
Lesbum esset[3] vagatus, portu receptum commeatibus
15 iuvissent. Duo securi percussi viri insignes, Andro-
nicus, Andronici filius, Aetolus, quod patrem secutus
arma contra populum Romanum tulisset, et Neo
Thebanus, quo auctore societatem cum Perseo
iunxerant.

XXXII. His rerum externarum cognitionibus interpositis Macedonum rursus advocatum concilium;

[1] Antissam *Fr, Drakenborch*: intissam *V*.
[2] ac *add. Wesenberg*: *om. V*.
[3] esset *Ruperti*: est *V*.

[1] This was a serious matter, however; the town had sometimes served as the meeting-place of the league assembly. The Romans were taking control of the coast.





of the board of commissioners, Gaius Claudius and B.C. 167
Gnaeus Domitius, set out for Achaia in order to summon men by proclamation on the spot. This they did for two reasons, first because they thought the Achaeans had more confidence and more pride to make them refuse obedience and perhaps also Callicrates and the other informers and purveyors of charges might be endangered; the second reason for the personal summons was that from the other leagues they had letters of the leaders that had been seized in the royal archives, but no letters from the Achaeans had been found and the charge against them was blind.

When the Aetolians had been dismissed, the Acarnanian League was called up. No changes were made concerning them, except that Leucas was removed from the Acarnanian federation.[1] In the course of more sweeping inquiries as to support of the king, either individual or by political units, the investigation was extended to Asia, and Labeo was sent to destroy Antissa on the island of Lesbos and to move its inhabitants to Methymna, because when Antenor, the king's admiral, had been roaming about Lesbos with his scout-ships, the people of Antissa had received him into their harbour and aided him with provisions. Two men of distinction were beheaded by the consul, Andronicus, son of Andronicus, an Aetolian, because following his father he had borne arms against the Roman People, and Neon of Thebes, who had induced his people to make an alliance with Perseus.

XXXII. After the interruption due to these investigations of other peoples, the assembly of the Macedonians was again convened. Concerning the con-

A.U.C. 587
2 pronuntiatum, quod ad statum Macedoniae pertine-
bat, senatores, quos synhedros vocant, legendos esse,
3 quorum consilio res publica administraretur. Nomi-
na deinde sunt recitata principum Macedonum,
quos cum liberis maioribus quam quindecim annos
4 natis praecedere in Italiam placeret. Id, prima
specie saevum, mox apparuit multitudini Mace-
donum pro libertate sua esse factum. Nominati sunt
enim regis amici purpuratique, duces exercituum,
praefecti navium aut praesidiorum, servire regi
5 humiliter, aliis superbe imperare adsueti; praedivites
alii, alii, quos fortuna non aequarent, his sumptibus
pares; regius omnibus victus vestitusque, nulli
civilis animus, neque legum neque libertatis aequae
6 patiens. Omnes igitur, qui in aliquis ministeriis
regiis, etiam qui in legationibus[1] fuerant, iussi
Macedonia excedere atque in Italiam ire; qui non
7 paruisset imperio, mors denuntiata. Leges Mace-
doniae dedit cum tanta cura, ut non hostibus victis,
sed sociis bene meritis dare videretur, et quas ne
usus quidem longo tempore, qui unus est legum
corrector, experiendo argueret.

8 Ab seriis rebus ludicrum, quod ex multo ante prae-
parato et in Asiae civitates et ad reges missis qui de-
nuntiarent, et, cum circumiret ipse Graeciae civi-
tates, indixerat[2] principibus, magno apparatu Am-

[1] in legationibus *Kreyssig*: in ministeriis in legationibus *V*.
[2] indixerat *Fr*: indignato *V*.

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[1] In each of the four districts.
[2] Justinus XXXIII. 2. 7, says that these laws "are still in use", *i.e.*, in the time of Trogus (first century after Christ), or possibly in that of Justinus himself (second century).
[3] Livy does not mention the destruction of the fortifications of Demetrias, one of the three "fetters of Greece", recorded by Diodorus XXXI. 13.





stitution of Macedonia it was announced that senators, whom they call *synhedri*, were to be chosen, by whose advice affairs of state[1] were to be conducted. The names were read of the Macedonian leaders who, it had been decided, were to precede the consul on the way to Italy with their sons of over fifteen years of age. This ordinance, cruel at first glance, soon was seen by the commons of Macedonia to have been enacted in the interests of their freedom. For the names were those of the king's friends and the wearers of the purple, of commanders of armies, of officers in command of ships and garrisons—men accustomed to being humble slaves of the king, but haughty tyrants toward others. Some were exceedingly rich, others equalled in expenditure those whose fortunes they could not match; all of them used the diet and garments of the court, none had the temperament of a citizen, or would endure the rule of law and the give-and-take of free men. All, therefore, who had held some office under the king, even those who had served as ambassadors, were ordered to leave Macedonia and travel to Italy; death was the penalty announced for disobedience to this order. Paulus laid down laws for Macedonia with such care as to seem to be giving them not to conquered enemies, but to well-deserving allies—laws which not even experience over a long period, the one best amender of legislation, could prove faulty in actual use.[2] B.C. 167

After the serious business,[3] Paulus celebrated with great pomp at Amphipolis a festival which had been long under preparation, and to announce which he had sent men to the cities and the kings of Asia, while he himself had given notice to the leading men

A.U.C. 587
9 phipoli fecit. Nam et artificum omnis generis, qui
ludicram artem faciebant, ex toto orbe terrarum
multitudo[1] et athletarum et nobilium equorum
convenit et legationes cum victimis et quidquid aliud
deorum hominumque causa fieri magnis ludis in
10 Graecia solet, its factum est, ut non magnificentiam
tantum, sed prudentiam in dandis spectaculis, ad
quae rudes tum Romani erant, admirarentur.
11 Epulae quoque legationibus paratae et opulentia
et cura eadem. Vulgo dictum ipsius ferebant et con-
vivium instruere et ludos parare eiusdem esse, qui
vincere bello sciret.

XXXIII. Edito ludicro[2] clupeisque aereis in naves
impositis cetera omnis generis arma cumulata in[3]
2 ingentem acervum, precatus Martem, Minervam
Luamque[4] matrem et ceteros deos, quibus spolia
hostium dicare ius fasque est, ipse imperator face sub-
dita succendit; deinde circumstantes tribuni militum
3 pro se quisque ignes coniecerunt. Notata est in
illo conventu Europae Asiaeque, undique partim ad
gratulationem, partim ad spectaculum contracta
multitudine, tantis navalibus terrestribusque exerci-
4 tibus, ea copia rerum, ea vilitas annonae, ut et privatis
et civitatibus et gentibus dona data pleraque eius
generis sint ab imperatore, non in usum praesentem,
5 sed etiam quod domos aveherent. Spectaculo fuit

[1] multitudo *Fr*: omnis multitudo *V*.
[2] ludicro *Wesenberg*: ludicro omnis generis *V*.
[3] in *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[4] Luamque *Turnebus*: Lunamque *V*.

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[1] What the Greeks called *theoriai*—official representatives of their states, who participated by offering sacrifices.





during his tour of the Greek cities. For a crowd of all sorts of professionals in the art of entertainment gathered from all over the world, as well as athletes and famous horses; moreover there were delegations with sacrifices,[1] and whatever more is usually done at the great games of Greece for the sake of gods or men, was so carried out as to arouse admiration not only for lavishness but for skill in giving shows, at which Romans were then tyros. Banquets for the delegations were also prepared with equal sumptuousness and pains. From mouth to mouth went the saying of Paulus himself, that the man who knew how to conquer in war could also arrange a banquet and organize games. B.C. 167

XXXIII. After the festival had been held and the bronze shields loaded into ships, the rest of the arms of all kinds were piled up into a great heap, and the general, after prayer to Mars, Minerva, Mother Lua,[2] and the other gods to whom it is right and lawful to dedicate the spoils of the enemy, with his own hands put the torch to the pile; then each of the military tribunes as they stood round about tossed in fire. In that great gathering of Europe and Asia, when such a crowd had assembled partly to offer congratulations and partly for the display, and in the presence of such forces naval and military, a remarkable fact was that supplies were so abundant and grain so cheap that both to individuals and to cities and peoples abundant gifts of such supplies were made by the general, not only for immediate use, but to be taken home with them. The eyes of

[2] Consort or companion of Saturn, she was a destructive power to be placated, cf. VIII. i. 6 and the note, and perhaps Servius on *Aeneid* III. 139 (*Luae* emended from *Lunae*).

A.U.C. 587 ei, quae venerat, turbae non scaenicum magis ludicrum, non certamina hominum aut curricula equorum, quam praeda Macedonica omnis ut viseretur exposita, statuarum tabularumque et textilium[1] et vasorum ex auro et argento et aere et ebore
6 factorum ingenti cura in ea regia, ut non in praesentem modo speciem, qualibus referta regia Alex-
7 andreae erat, sed in perpetuum usum fierent. Haec in classem imposita devehenda Romam Cn. Octavio data.

Paulus benigne legatis dimissis transgressus Strymonem mille passuum ab Amphipoli castra posuit;
8 inde profectus Pellam quinto die pervenit. Praetergressus urbem, ad Pellaeum,[2] quod vocant, biduum moratus, P. Nasicam et Q. Maximum filium cum parte copiarum ad depopulandos Illyrios, qui Persea iuverant bello, misit iussos ad Oricum sibi occurrere; ipse Epirum petens quintis decimis castris Passaronem pervenit.

XXXIV. Haud procul inde Anici castra aberant. Ad quem litteris missis, ne quid ad ea quae fierent moveretur: senatum praedam Epiri civitatium, quae
2 ad Persea defecissent, exercitui dedisse suo,[3] missis centurionibus in singulas urbes, qui se dicerent ad praesidia deducenda venisse, ut liberi Epirotae sicut Macedones essent, denos principes ex singulis evocavit civitatibus; quibus cum denuntiasset ut aurum

[1] et textilium *Madvig*: ex tilium *V*.
[2] Pellaeum *Heraeus*: paeleum *V*.
[3] suo *Madvig*: suos *V*.

[1] A similar triumphal display is recorded in XXVI. xxi. 7–8 (from Syracuse); and the Romans' interest in looted art





the crowd which came were no more drawn to the stage spectacle, the contests of men, or the racing of the horses, than to the collected loot of Macedonia, set out on exhibition, statues, paintings, rare stuffs, and vessels made of gold, silver, bronze and ivory, manufactured with great pains in the palace at Pella, so as to serve not only for immediate show, as did the objects with which the palace at Alexandria was crammed, but for continuous use.[1] This booty was loaded on the fleet and given to Gnaeus Octavius to transport to Rome. B.C. 167

After a courteous farewell to the delegates, Paulus crossed the Strymon and pitched camp a mile from Amphipolis; thence he set out for Pella and arrived on the fifth day. Passing by the city to what is called the Pellaeum, he halted for two days, and sent his son Quintus Maximus and Publius Nasica with a portion of the troops to ravage Illyrians who had helped Perseus in the war, ordering the expedition to meet him at Oricum; the consul himself made for Epirus and reached Passaron on the fifteenth day.

XXXIV. Not far from here was the camp of Anicius. Paulus sent him despatches, so that there should be no disturbance over what was about to take place, saying that the senate had granted to Paulus' army the booty from those cities of Epirus which had deserted to Perseus. The consul sent centurions to the several cities, who were to say that they had come to remove the garrisons so that the people of Epirus might be free like the Macedonians; ten leading men from each city were summoned to the consul. These men were instructed

is expressed in XXXII. xvi. 17 (Chalcis) and XXXVIII. ix. 13 (Ambracia).

A.U.C. 587

atque argentum in publicum proferretur, per omnes
3 civitates cohortes dimisit. Ante in ulteriores quam in propiores profecti, ut uno die in omnes perveni-
4 retur. Edita tribunis centurionibusque erant, quae agerentur. Mane omne aurum argentumque conlatum; hora quarta signum ad diripiendas urbes
5 datum est militibus; tantaque praeda fuit, ut in equitem quadringeni denarii, peditibus duceni dividerentur, centum quinquaginta milia capitum
6 humanorum abducerentur. Muri deinde direptarum urbium diruti sunt; ea fuere oppida circa septuaginta. Vendita praeda omnis, inde[1] ea summa militi numerata est.

7 Paulus ad mare Oricum descendit nequaquam, ut ratus erat, expletis militum animis, qui, tamquam nullum in Macedonia gessissent bellum, expertis
8 regiae praedae esse indignabantur. Orici cum missas cum Scipione Nasica Maximoque filio copias invenisset, exercitu in naves imposito in Italiam
9 traiecit. Et post paucos dies Anicius conventu reliquorum Epirotarum Acarnanumque acto iussisque in Italiam sequi principibus, quorum cognitionem causae senatui[2] reservarat, et ipse navibus expectatis, quibus usus Macedonicus exercitus erat, in Italiam traiecit.

[1] omnis, inde *Madvig*: omni unde *V*.
[2] senatui *add. Duker*: *om. V*.

[1] Plutarch, *Aemilius* xxix. 3, says that only 11 drachmas per soldier were realized, that is, about 13 denarii; this would explain the dissatisfaction of the soldiers mentioned below,





B.C. 167

to have the gold and silver collected at the civic centre. Then cohorts were sent to all the cities, those bound for the more distant leaving before those for the nearer, so that they would arrive at all the towns on the same day. The tribunes and centurions had been instructed as to their mission. Early in the day all the gold and silver was collected; at the fourth hour the soldiers were given the signal to plunder the towns. So great was the booty that a distribution was made of four hundred denarii apiece to the cavalry, and two hundred apiece to the infantry,[1] and one hundred and fifty thousand persons were removed. The walls of the plundered cities were destroyed; the number of communities was about seventy. All the booty was sold, and from the proceeds the amounts given above were paid to the army.

Paulus went down to the sea at Oricum, having by no means met the expectations of the soldiers, as he had supposed he would; the men were complaining that they had no share in the booty from the king, as if they had fought no campaign in Macedonia. On finding at Oricum the troops he had sent with Scipio Nasica and his son Maximus, Paulus embarked his army on ships and crossed to Italy. A few days later Anicius, after waiting for the ships which the army of Macedonia had used, crossed to Italy, first holding an assembly of the remaining Epirotes and Acarnanians, and ordering the leaders, judgment about whom he had reserved for the senate, to follow him to Italy.

but implies a serious and improbable miscalculation on the part of Paulus. In xxx. 1, Plutarch apologizes for Paulus in respect to this action, which is charged to the senate.

A.U.C. 587
10 Cum haec in Macedonia Epiroque gesta sunt,
legati, qui cum Attalo ad finiendum bellum inter
Gallos et regem Eumenem missi erant, in Asiam
11 pervenerant.[1] Indutiis per hiemem factis et Galli
domos abierant et rex in hiberna concesserat Per-
gamum gravique morbo aeger fuerat. Ver primum
eos [2] domo excivit iamque Synnada pervenerant et
Eumenes ad [3] Sardis undique exercitum contraxerat.
12 Ibi Romani cum Solovettium,[4] ducem Gallorum,
Synnadis esse comperissent eo proficisci decreverunt
ad colloquium; Attalus [5] cum eis profectus, sed
castra Gallorum intrare eum non placuit, ne animi
13 ex disceptatione irritarentur. P. Licinius consularis
cum [6] regulo Gallorum est locutus rettulitque fero-
14 ciorem eum deprecando factum, ut mirum videri
possit [7] inter tam opulentos reges, Antiochum
Ptolemaeumque, tantum legatorum Romanorum
verba valuisse ut extemplo pacem facerent, apud
Gallos nullius momenti fuisse.

XXXV. Romam primum reges captivi, Perseus et
Gentius, in custodiam cum liberis abducti, dein turba
alia captivorum, tum quibus Macedonum denunti-
atum erat ut Romam venirent, principumque
2 Graeciae; nam ii [8] quoque non solum praesentes

[1] pervenerant *Wesenberg*: pervenerunt *V*.
[2] eos *Harant*: ex *V*.
[3] et Eumenes ad *Madvig*: cum Eumenis ab *V*.
[4] Solovettium *Madvig*: et Solovettium *V*.
[5] Synnadis esse comperissent eo proficisci decreverunt ad colloquium; Attalus *Madvig*: synnadesad locutusettalus *V*.
[6] cum *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[7] possit *Madvig*: posset *V*.
[8] ii *Bekker*: hii *V*.





While these events were occurring in Macedonia and Epirus, the commissioners who had been sent with Attalus to put an end to the war between the Galatians and King Eumenes, arrived in Asia. A truce had been declared for the winter; the Galatians on their side had returned to their homes, and the king had gone into winter-quarters at Pergamum and was ill with a serious disease. Early spring called the Galatians into the field, and they had by this time reached Synnada; Eumenes had mustered an army from all sides at Sardis. At that city the Romans learned that Solovettius the Galatian leader was at Synnada, and decided to go there to confer with him; Attalus set out with them, but it was decided that he should not enter the camp of the Galatians, lest tempers be lost during an altercation. Publius Licinius, an ex-consul,[1] talked with the prince of the Galatians and reported that he had been emboldened by the appeal to him, so that it was occasion for wonder that the words of Roman envoys had had such weight with those prosperous kings Antiochus and Ptolemy that they at once made peace, whereas with the Galatians Roman words were without effect. B.C. 167

XXXV. In Rome first the captive kings, Perseus and Gentius, were placed in custody with their children, next the horde of other prisoners, and after them the Macedonians who had been ordered to come to Rome, and the leaders of Greece, for these men too had not only been summoned when at home,

[1] Head of this embassy (Polybius XXX. 3) and consul 4 years before, XLII. xxix. 1. Polybius implies that the embassy was not really meant to restrain the Galatians, as shown by the actual results.

A.U.C. 587 exciti erant, sed etiam, si qui apud reges esse dice-
3 bantur, litteris arcessiti sunt. Paulus ipse post dies paucos regia nave ingentis magnitudinis, quam sedecim versus remorum agebant, ornata Macedonicis spoliis non insignium tantum armorum, sed etiam regiorum textilium, adverso Tiberi ad urbem est subvectus, completis ripis obviam effusa multi-
4 tudine. Paucos post dies Anicius et Octavius classe sua advecti. Tribus iis omnibus decretus est ab senatu triumphus mandatumque Q. Cassio praetori, cum tribunis plebis ageret, ex auctoritate patrum[1] rogationem ad plebem ferrent, ut iis, quo die urbem triumphantes inveherentur, imperium esset.

5 Intacta invidia media sunt; ad summa ferme tendit. Nec de Anici nec de Octavi triumpho dubitatum est; Paulum, cui ipsi quoque se comparare
6 erubuissent, obtrectatio carpsit. Antiqua disciplina milites habuerat; de praeda parcius, quam speraverant ex tantis regiis opibus, dederat nihil relicturis, si aviditati indulgeretur, quod in aerarium
7 deferret. Totus Macedonicus exercitus imperatori iratus neglegenter erat[2] adfuturus comitiis ferendae
8 legis. Sed eos Ser. Sulpicius Galba, qui tribunus

[1] ageret, ex auctoritate patrum *Duker*: ex auctoritate patruum ageret *V*.

[2] iratus neglegenter erat *Weissenborn*: ita neglegenter *V*: erat neglegenter *Fr*.

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[1] Polybius XXX. 9, gives an illustration of this: Polyaratus the Rhodian was at the court of Ptolemy; Popilius ordered him to be sent to Rome. Ptolemy sent him instead to Rhodes, but Polyaratus jumped ship at Phaselis, in eastern Lycia, and again at Caunus; then he took refuge at Cibyra, but was finally rounded up and taken to Rome.

[2] Perhaps the one left to Philip by the treaty of 196 B.C.: XXXIII. xxx. 5.





but if any of them were reported as being at the courts of the kings, they had also been sought out by letter.[1] After a few days, Paulus himself sailed up the Tiber to the city in a royal galley of immense size, which was driven by sixteen banks of oars,[2] and decorated with the spoils of Macedonia, not only splendid armour, but also royal fabrics. The banks were lined with the crowd which had poured out to welcome him. A few days later Anicius and Octavius arrived aboard their fleet. A triumph was decreed to all three commanders by the senate, and Quintus Cassius the praetor was assigned the task of arranging with the tribunes of the commons that they should propose to the commons, on motion of the senate, a resolution that the commanders should keep their authority of office on the day on which they rode into the city in triumph.[3] B.C. 167

Moderate circumstances are unassailed by envy; that passion always aims at the heights. There was no debate over the triumphs for Anicius and Octavius; but defamation attacked Paulus, to whom the others themselves would have blushed to compare themselves. He had held the soldiers to old-fashioned discipline; he had given them less of the booty than they had hoped for from such lavish royal resources, though had he given rein to their greed, they would have left nothing to be deposited in the public treasury. The whole army of Macedonia, angered at their general, were prepared to be slack in attending the assembly for passing the law. But Servius Sulpicius Galba, who had been military tribune of the

[3] A similar provision for Marcellus' ovation over Syracuse is recorded in XXVI. xxi. 5. For the voting of a triumph over the refusal of the senate, see III. lxiii. 8–11 and the note.

A.U.C. 587 militum secundae legionis in Macedonia fuerat, privatim imperatori inimicus, prensando ipse et per suae legionis milites sollicitando stimulaverat, ut
9 frequentes ad suffragium adessent. Imperiosum ducem et malignum antiquando rogationem, quae de triumpho eius ferretur, ulciscerentur. Plebem urbanam secuturam esse militum iudicia. Pecuniam illum dare non potuisse; militem honorem dare posse. Ne speraret ibi fructum gratiae, ubi non meruisset.

XXXVI. His incitatis cum in Capitolio rogationem eam Ti. Sempronius tribunus plebis ferret et privatis de [1] lege dicendi locus esset et [2] ad suadendum, ut in
2 re minime dubia, haud quisquam procederet, Ser. Galba repente processit et a tribunis postulavit ut, quoniam hora iam octava diei esset, nec satis temporis ad demonstrandum haberet, cur L. Aemilium non iuberent [3] triumphare, in posterum diem differrent et mane eam rem agerent: integro sibi die ad
3 causam eam orandam opus esse. Cum tribuni dicere eo die, si quid vellet, iuberent,[3] in noctem rem dicendo extraxit referendo admonendoque exacta acerbe munia militiae; plus laboris, plus periculi, quam desiderasset res, iniunctum; contra in praemiis,
4 in honoribus omnia artata; militiamque, si talibus succedat ducibus, horridiorem asperioremque bel-

[1] de *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om. V.*
[2] et *add. Madvig*: *om. V.*
[3] iuberent *Hertz*: iuberet *V.*





second legion in Macedonia, and was personally hostile to the general, had egged on the men to appear for voting in full numbers, by buttonholing the men himself and urging them through the soldiers of his legion. Let them, said Sulpicius, avenge themselves on their domineering and stingy leader by voting down the proposal concerning his triumph; the city commons would follow the opinion of the soldiers. Paulus had been unable to give them money; but the rank and file were able to award honours. Let him not look for a harvest of gratitude where he had not earned it. B.C. 167

XXXVI. Such was the urging of Sulpicius. When Tiberius Sempronius, tribune of the commons, proposed this resolution on the Capitol, and opportunity was given to citizens to speak concerning the law, hardly anyone came forward to urge passage, since the case seemed quite clear. Suddenly Servius Galba came forward and asked of the tribunes, inasmuch as it was now the eighth hour of the day, and time would not serve for him to show cause why they should not allow Lucius Aemilius to celebrate a triumph, that they should adjourn to the following day, and bring the matter up early, because he needed a full day to present his arguments. When the tribunes ordered him to say what he wished on that day, he prolonged the meeting till nightfall with his speaking, recalling and reminding them of the harsh enforcement of military duties; more toil and more danger had been imposed, he said, than the situation demanded; on the other hand, rewards and honours had been without exception restricted; and military service, if success attended this sort of leadership, would be more dreadful and full of hardships in war-

A.U.C. 587

lantibus,[1] eandem victoribus inopem atque inhonoratam futuram. Macedonas in meliore fortuna
5 quam milites Romanos esse. Si frequentes postero die ad legem antiquandam adessent, intellecturos potentis viros non omnia in ducis, aliquid et in militum manu esse.

6 His vocibus incitati postero die milites tanta frequentia Capitolium compleverunt, ut aditus nulli
7 praeterea ad suffragium ferendum esset. Intro vocatae primae tribus cum antiquarent, concursus in Capitolium principum civitatis factus est, indignum facinus esse clamitantium L. Paulum tanti belli
8 victorem despoliari[2] triumpho; obnoxios imperatores tradi licentiae atque avaritiae militari. Iam nunc nimis saepe per[3] ambitionem peccari; quid, si domini milites imperatoribus imponantur? in Galbam pro se quisque probra ingerere.

9 Tandem hoc tumultu sedato M. Servilius, qui consul et magister equitum fuerat, ut de integro eam rem[4] agerent ab tribunis petere, dicendique sibi
10 ad populum potestatem facerent. Tribuni cum ad deliberandum secessissent, victi auctoritatibus principum de integro agere coeperunt revocaturosque se easdem tribus pronuntiarunt, si M. Servilius aliique privati, qui dicere vellent, dixissent.

[1] asperioremque bellantibus *Fr*: asperiorem vellentibus *V*.
[2] despoliari *J. F. Gronovius*: dispoliari *V*.
[3] militari. Iam nunc nimis saepe per *Jacobs*: militari-inunonimisseper *V*.
[4] rem *add. Fr*: *om. V*.





time, and after victory would moreover be left without funds or honours. The fate of the Macedonians was preferable, said Galba, to that of the Roman soldiers. If they turned out in large numbers on the next day to reject the law, men with authority would be made aware that not everything was under the control of the leader, but something also under that of the soldiers. B.C. 167

Rousing by these utterances, the soldiers next day filled the Capitol with such a crowd that no one else could approach to cast his vote. When the first tribes[1] called within the enclosure voted against the law, the leaders of the state hastened to gather on the Capitol, crying out that it was an unworthy action to rob Lucius Paulus of his triumph when he had won so great a war; the generals were being helplessly subjected to the insubordination and greed of their men. Even now wrong action was all too often taken for the sake of currying favour; what would happen if soldiers were made the masters of their generals? Each man hurled reproaches on his own score against Galba.

When this uproar had at last been calmed, Marcus Servilius, who had been consul and master of the horse, requested of the tribunes that they should conduct this balloting anew, and give him an opportunity to speak to the people. After the tribunes had retired to consider the proposal, overborne by the influence of the leading men, they began to repeat the proceedings, and announced that they would call the same tribes again, once Marcus Servilius and other citizens who wished to speak, had had their say.

[1] Plutarch *Aemilius* xxxi. 1 says that the vote of the first tribe gave the signal for the protest of the senators.

A.U.C. 587

XXXVII. Tum Servilius:[1] "quantus imperator L. Aemilius fuerit, Quirites, si ex alia re nulla aestimari posset,[2] vel hoc satis erat quod, cum tam seditiosos et leves milites, tam nobilem, tam temerarium, tam eloquentem ad instigandam multitudinem inimicum in castris haberet, nullam in exercitu sedi-
2 tionem habuit. Eadem severitas imperii, quam nunc oderunt, tum[3] eos continuit. Itaque antiqua disciplina habiti neque dixerunt seditiose quicquam neque[4] fecerunt.

3 "Servius quidem Galba, si in L. Paulo accusando tirocinium ponere et documentum eloquentiae dare voluit, non triumphum impedire debuit, quem, si
4 nihil aliud, senatus iustum esse iudicaverat, sed postero die quam triumphatum esset,[5] privatum eum cum[6] visurus esset, nomen deferret et legibus interrogaret; aut serius paulo, cum primum magistratum[7] ipse cepisset, diem diceret inimico et eum ad[8]
5 populum accusaret. Ita et pretium recte facti triumphum haberet L. Paulus pro egregie bello gesto et poenam, si quid et vetere gloria sua et nova indignum fecisset.

[1] Tum Servilius *add. Fr*: *om. V.*
[2] posset *Madvig*: possit *V.*
[3] tum *Weissenborn*: ut *V.*
[4] habiti neque dixerunt seditiose quicquam neque *Vahlen*: habita neque *V.*
[5] esset *J. F. Gronovius*: est *V.*
[6] cum *add. J. F. Gronovius, Wesenberg*: *om. V.*
[7] magistratum *Kreyssig*: magistratus *V.*
[8] et eum ad *Madvig*: cum ad *V.*





XXXVII. Then Servilius said: "If it were impossible, fellow-citizens, to determine from anything else how great a general Lucius Aemilius has shown himself to be this one criterion would have sufficed —that although he had in camp such mutinous and unreliable soldiers, as well as a personal enemy of such high rank, so rash, and so eloquent a rabble-rouser, yet Paulus had no breach of discipline in his army. The same strictness of command which now they hate at that time restrained them. Consequently, being kept under old-fashioned discipline, they neither said nor did anything mutinous. B.C. 167

"As for Servius Galba, if he wished by accusing Lucius Paulus to put his apprenticeship behind him and offer proof of his skill as an orator,[1] he should not have interfered with the triumph, which the senate had adjudged to be proper, to say nothing of other considerations. Rather on the day after the triumph was celebrated, when he would see Paulus a private citizen, he should bring accusation and question him according to law,[2] or a little later, when Galba entered upon his first public office, he should summon his enemy to trial and accuse him before the people. Thus there would accrue to Lucius Paulus not only the triumph which is the due reward for his success in gloriously conducting the war, but also punishment, if he had done anything unworthy of his laurels, both new and old.

[1] Galba became a noted orator, cf. Cicero, *Brutus* xxi. 82 and xxii. 86.
[2] This latter refers to an arraignment of the accused, at which the "question" was whether he pleaded guilty or not guilty.

A.U.C. 587

6 "Sed videlicet, cui nullum [1] crimen, nullum pro-
brum dicere poterat, eius obtrectare laudes voluit.
Diem integrum hesterno die ad [2] accusandum L.
Paulum petit; quattuor horas, quantum supererat
7 diei, dicendo absumpsit. Quis umquam tam nocens
reus fuit, cuius vitia vitae tot horis expromi non
possent? quid interim obiecit, quod L. Paulus, si
8 causam dicat, negatum velit? Duas mihi aliquis
contiones parumper faciat, unam militum Mace-
donicorum, puram alteram et [3] integrioris iudicii a
favore et odio, universi populi Romani.[4]

Apud contionem togatam et urbanam prius reus
9 agatur. Quid apud Quirites Romanos, Ser. Galba,
diceres? Illa enim tibi tota abscisa oratio esset 'in
statione severius et intentius stetisti;[5] vigiliae
acerbius et diligentius circumitae sunt; operis plus
quam antea fecisti, cum ipse imperator ut [6] exactor
circumiret; eodem die et iter fecisti et in aciem ex
10 itinere existi; ne [7] victorem quidem te adquiescere
passus est; statim ad persequendos hostes duxit.
Cum te praeda partienda locupletem facere posset,
pecuniam regiam translaturus in triumpho est et in
11 aerarium laturus.' Haec sicut ad militum animos
stimulandos aliquem aculeum habent, qui parum
licentiae, parum avaritiae suae inservitum censent,

[1] nullum *add. Novák*: *om. V.*
[2] ad *add. Vascosanus*: *om. V.*
[3] et *hic posuit H. J. Müller*: *post* iudicii *V.*
[4] universi populi Romani *Madvig*: uniuersisiūd. c. p̄r. *V.*
[5] stetisti *Madvig*: institisti *V.*
[6] ut *Weissenborn*: et *V.*
existi; ne *add. Heraeus*: *om. V.*





"But, if you please, Galba wished to tarnish the B.C. 167
praises of the man to whom he could ascribe no crime, no guilt. Yesterday he asked for a full day in which to accuse Lucius Paulus; actually he squandered in speaking four hours, all that was left of the day. What defendant was ever so guilty that the faults in his life could not be expounded in all those hours? What did Galba say in this time which Lucius Paulus would want to deny, if he were on trial? Let some-one, pray, call two meetings for a moment, one of the army of Macedonia, the other unprejudiced and of judgment less impaired by partisanship or hate, a meeting of the whole Roman people.

"Let the defendant be brought first before the meeting in mufti—the civilians. What would you say before the citizen-body of Rome, Servius Galba? For all your speech of yesterday would be cut short: 'You were posted on guard too strictly and watch-fully; the sentries were inspected too severely and too frequently; you got more work done than for-merly, because the general himself was going the rounds to see that it was done; on the same day you made a march and went from the march out to battle;[1] even when you had won the battle he did not let you rest—he led you at once in pursuit of the enemy. Although he might have made you rich by dividing the spoil, he is planning to carry the royal treasure in his triumph and deposit it in the treasury.' These statements, though they have a certain sting to provoke the temper of the soldiers, who think that Paulus has catered too little to their lack of discipline and their greed, would just as surely have had no

[1] Actually the soldiers had called for battle, and Paulus had refused it, XLIV. xxxvi. 3.

A.U.C. 587
12 ita apud populum Romanum nihil valuissent, qui, ut
vetera atque audita a parentibus suis non repetat,
quae ambitione imperatorum clades acceptae sint,
quae severitate imperii victoriae partae, proximo
certe Punico bello, quid inter M. Minucium magi-
strum equitum et Q. Fabium Maximum dictatorem
13 interfuerit, meminit. Itaque apparuisset neque [1]
accusatorem hiscere potuisse et supervacaneam
defensionem [2] Pauli fuisse.

14 "Transeatur ad alteram contionem; nec Quirites
vos, sed milites videor appellaturus, si nomen hoc
saltem ruborem incutere et verecundiam aliquam
imperatoris violandi adferre possit.

XXXVIII. "Equidem ipse aliter adfectus animo
sum, qui apud exercitum mihi loqui videar, quam
paulo ante eram, cum ad plebem urbanam spectabat
2 oratio. Quid enim [3] dicitis, milites? aliquis est
Romae, praeter Persea, qui triumphari de Mace-
donibus nolit, et eum non isdem manibus discerpitis,
quibus Macedonas vicistis? Vincere vos pro-
hibuisset, si potuisset, qui triumphantis urbem inire
3 prohibet. Erratis, milites, si triumphum imperatoris
tantum et non militum quoque et universi populi
4 Romani esse decus censetis. Non unius in hoc
Pauli honos agitur.[4]

[1] apparuisset neque *add. Vahlen*: *om. V.*
[2] hiscere . . . defensionem *Vahlen*: iscire . . . defensione *V.*
[3] enim *Muretus*: etiam *V.*





power to move the Roman people; for even though B.C. 167 the people should not recall the old stories which they heard from their fathers of disasters suffered because generals courted popularity, and of victories won by strictness of command, yet the people surely remember the late Punic War, and what a difference there was between Marcus Minucius the master of horse, and Quintus Fabius Maximus the dictator. And so it would have been clear that the accuser could not open his mouth, and that a defence of Paulus was superfluous.

"Let us pass over to the other meeting; and I think I will not address you as 'Citizens,' but as 'Soldiers,' in case this title may at least bring a blush to your cheeks, and instill some scruple against maltreating your general.

XXXVIII. "Indeed the state of my own feelings is different, when I picture myself speaking before the army, than it was previously, when my speech was directed toward the people of the city. For what do you mean, soldiers? Is there anyone in Rome except Perseus who does not want the triumph over Macedonia to be celebrated? And are you not ready to tear such an objector to pieces with the same hands with which you conquered the Macedonians? He who prevents you from entering the city in triumph would have prevented you from winning the victory, had he been able. You are wrong, soldiers, if you suppose that a triumph is an honour only to the general, and not also to the soldiers and to the Roman People as a whole. It is not the glory of Paulus alone which is at stake in this matter.

[4] honos agitur *add Madvig*: *om. V.*

A.U.C. 587
"Multi etiam, qui ab senatu non impetrarunt
triumphum, in monte Albano triumpharunt; nemo
L. Paulo magis eripere decus perfecti belli Mace-
donici potest quam C. Lutatio primi Punici belli,
quam P. Cornelio secundi, quam illis, qui post eos [1]
5 triumphaverant; nec L. Paulum minorem aut
maiorem imperatorem triumphus faciet; militum
magis in hoc universique populi Romani fama agitur,
6 primum ne invidiae et ingrati animi adversus clarissi-
mum quemque civem opinionem habeat et imitari
in hoc populum Atheniensem lacerantem, invidia
7 principes suos videatur. Satis peccatum in Camillo a
maioribus vestris est, quem tamen ante receptam per
eum a Gallis urbem violarunt; satis nuper a [2] vobis
in P. Africano. Literni domicilium et sedem fuisse
domitoris Africae, Literni sepulcrum ostendi eru-
8 bescamus. Gloria sit [3] par illis viris L. Paulus, iniuria
vestra ne exaequetur.[4]

"Haec igitur primum infamia deleatur, foeda apud
9 alias gentes, damnosa apud nostros. Quis enim aut
Africani aut Pauli similis esse in tam [5] ingrata et
10 inimica bonis civitate velit? si infamia nulla esset et
de gloria tantum ageretur, qui tandem triumphus non
11 communem nominis Romani gloriam habet? Tot
de Gallis triumphi, tot de Hispanis, tot de Poenis

[1] illis, qui post eos *Sigonius*: illi qui *V*.
[2] nuper a *Madvig*: insuper *V*.
[3] sit *Madvig*: sic *V*.
[4] ne exaequetur *Madvig*: exsequetur *V*.
[5] in tam *add. Bas*: *om. V*.

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[1] Cf. XXXVIII. liii. 8 and lvi. 3, where Livy says he is following Valerius Antias.





"Furthermore, many who did not secure a triumph from the senate celebrated their triumph on the Alban Mount. No one can deprive Lucius Paulus of the glory of bringing the Macedonian war to an end any more than he can deprive Gaius Lutatius of credit for the First Punic War, or Publius Cornelius of that for the Second, or the others who have more recently celebrated triumphs. A triumph will make Lucius Paulus neither greater nor less as a general; rather it is the reputation of the soldiers and that of the Roman People as a whole which is at stake in this matter, in the first place that Rome may not gain a reputation for a jealous and ungrateful spirit toward her most distinguished citizens, and seem in this respect to be imitating the people of Athens who in their envy buffet their leading men. Enough of a crime was committed by your ancestors against Camillus—though they wronged him before his recovery of the city from the Gauls; enough was done by yourselves against Publius Africanus. Let us blush that the home and abode of the conqueror of Africa was at Liternum, and that it is at Liternum that his tomb is displayed.[1] Let Lucius Paulus rival these men in glory, but let him not be their equal in suffering injustice at your hands. B.C. 167

"Let therefore this disgrace be in the first place blotted out—a disgrace odious before other peoples, and harmful to ourselves. For who would want to emulate either Africanus or Paulus in a city so ungrateful and so hostile to excellence? If there were no question of disgrace, and only glory were at stake, what possible triumph does not embody the glory of the Roman name which we all share? Are the many triumphs which have been celebrated over the Gauls,

A.U.C. 587

ipsorum tantum imperatorum an populi Romani dicuntur? Quemadmodum non de Pyrrho modo nec de Hannibale, sed de Epirotis Carthaginiensibusque [1] triumphi acti sunt, sic non M'. Curius tantum nec P. Cornelius, sed Romani triumpharunt.
12 Militum quidem propria est causa, qui et ipsi laureati et quisque donis, quibus donati sunt, insignes Triumphum nomine cientes [2] suasque et imperatoris
13 laudes canentes per urbem incedunt. Si quando non deportati ex provincia milites ad triumphum sunt,[3] fremunt; et tamen tum [4] quoque se absentis, quod suis manibus parta victoria sit, triumphare
14 credunt. Si quis vos interroget, milites, ad quam rem in Italiam deportati et non statim confecta provincia dimissi sitis, quid Romam frequentes sub signis veneritis, quid moremini hic et non diversi domos quisque abeatis vestras, quid aliud respondeatis, quam vos triumphantis videri velle? Vos certe victores conspici velle debebatis.

XXXIX. "Triumphatum nuper de Philippo, patre huius, et de Antiocho est; ambo regnabant, cum de iis [5] triumphatum est. De Perseo capto, in urbem cum liberis adducto [6] non triumphabitur?
2 Quodsi in curru scandentis Capitolium, auratos

[1] Carthaginiensibusque *Fr*: Carthaginiensibus et Macedonibus *V*.
[2] cientes *Madvig*: cient *V*.
[3] sunt *Madvig*: sint *V*.
[4] tum *Gruter*: suum *V*.
[5] iis *Kreyssig*: his *V*.
[6] adducto *Perizonius*: abducto *V*.

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[1] There is a reference to the victory of Curius in Summary XIV; Scipio's triumph is mentioned in XXX. xlv.





over the Spaniards, over the Carthaginians spoken of B.C. 167
as pertaining merely to the generals themselves, or to the Roman People? Just as triumphs are celebrated, not merely over Pyrrhus or Hannibal, but over the people of Epirus or Carthage, so not Manius Curius or Publius Cornelius alone,[1] but the Romans celebrated the triumph. Soldiers indeed are directly interested in the matter, for they too are crowned with laurel, while each man is adorned with the decorations he has been given; they parade through the city invoking the spirit of Triumph by name and singing their own praises and those of their general. If on some occasion the soldiers are not brought back from the field for the triumph, they grumble; and yet even on such an occasion they believe that they are included in the triumph, though absent, because the victory has been won by their hands. If someone should ask you, soldiers, for what purpose you were transported to Italy, and were not dismissed at once when your mission had been completed, if he should ask why you had come to Rome in complete military units, why you were lingering here and were not dispersing, each to his own home, what would you answer but that you wished to be seen celebrating your triumph? Certainly you yourselves ought to have wanted to make a public appearance as conquerors.

XXXIX. "Triumphs have been celebrated in recent years over Philip, the father of this king, and over Antiochus; both were still on the throne when the triumph was celebrated. Shall no triumph be celebrated over Perseus, who was taken prisoner and brought with his children to Rome? Nay, if while the other commanders were mounting the Capitol in

A.U.C. 587 purpuratosque, ex inferiore loco L. Paulus in turba togatorum unus privatus interroget 'L. Anici, Cn. Octavi, utrum vos digniores triumpho esse an me censetis?' curru ei cessuri et[1] prae pudore videntur
3 insignia ipsi sua tradituri. Et vos Gentium quam Persea duci in triumpho mavoltis, Quirites, et de accessione potius belli quam de bello triumphari?
4 Et legiones ex Illyrico laureatae urbem inibunt et navales socii; Macedonicae legiones suo abrogato triumphos alienos spectabunt? Quid deinde tam opima praeda,[2] tam opulentae victoriae spoliis fiet?
5 quonam abdentur illa tot milia armorum detracta corporibus hostium? an in Macedoniam remittentur? quo signa aurea, marmorea, eburnea, tabulae pictae, textilia, tantum argenti caelati, tantum auri, tanta
6 pecunia regia? an noctu tamquam furtiva in aerarium deportabuntur? quid? illud spectaculum maximum, nobilissimus opulentissimusque rex captus, ubi
7 victori populo ostendetur?[3] Quos Syphax rex captus, accessio Punici belli, concursus fecerit, plerique meminimus. Perseus rex captus, Philippus et Alexander, filii regis, tanta nomina, subtrahentur
8 civitatis oculis? Ipsum L. Paulum, bis consulem, domitorem Graeciae, omnium oculi conspicere urbem curru ingredientem avent; ad hoc fecimus consulem,

[1] curru ei cessuri et *Wachendorf*: currumicẽ suriest *V*.
[2] opima praeda *J. F. Gronovius*: opimae praedae *V*.
[3] ostendetur *Gruter* ostenditur *V*.





the chariot, arrayed in their gold and purple, from below them Lucius Paulus, a lone citizen in the crowd of civilians, should ask them, 'Lucius Anicius, Gnaeus Octavius, do you consider yourselves more worthy of a triumph, or me?' they would, I believe, yield him their place in the chariot and for very shame hand their regalia over to him. Do you prefer, fellow-citizens, to have Gentius rather than Perseus led in a triumph, and the celebration to be made for an appendage to the war rather than for the war itself? The legions from Illyricum will also enter the city crowned with laurel, and so will the sailors; shall the legions of Macedonia witness the triumphs of others after their own has been cancelled? What then shall become of so kingly a booty, of the spoils of so rich a victory? What, pray, shall be the hiding-place for all those thousand sets of arms stripped from the bodies of the enemy? Shall they be sent back to Macedonia? What of the golden statues, the marbles, the ivories, the paintings, the rare stuffs, all the embossed silver, all the gold, all the royal money? Shall they be carried to the treasury by night as if stolen? And what is more—that greatest of shows, royal prisoner of highest birth and greatest riches—where shall he be displayed to the people who have gained the victory? Many of us can recall what crowds were drawn by the sight of King Syphax as prisoner, an appendage to the war with Carthage. Shall our prisoner King Perseus, shall the king's sons, Philip and Alexander, names of such potency,—shall they be removed from the sight of the commonwealth? Lucius Paulus himself, twice consul, conqueror of Greece—all eyes are eager to behold him entering the city in his chariot; to this end we made him consul, B.C. 167

A.U.C. 587

ut bellum per quadriennium ingenti etiam pudore
9 nostro [1] tractum perficeret. Cui sortito provinciam, cui proficiscenti praesagientibus animis victoriam triumphumque destinavimus, ei victori triumphum negaturi sumus? et quidem [2] non tantum eum,[3] sed deos etiam
10 suo honore fraudaturi? Dis quoque enim, non solum hominibus, debetur triumphus.[4] Maiores vestri omnium magnarum rerum et principia exorsi
11 a dis sunt [5] et finem statuerunt. Consul proficiscens praetorve paludatis lictoribus in provinciam et ad bellum vota in Capitolio nuncupat; victor perpetrato bello [6] eodem in Capitolium [7] triumphans ad eosdem deos, quibus vota nuncupavit, merita dona portans [8]
12 redit. Pars non minima triumphi est victimae praecedentes, ut appareat dis grates agentem imperatorem ob rem publicam bene gestam redire.
13 Omnis illas victimas, quas traducendas in triumphum dicavit,[9] alias alio abducentes mactate![10] Quid enim?[11] illae epulae senatus, quae nec privato loco nec publico profano, sed in Capitolio eduntur, utrum hominum voluptatis causa an deorum honoris [12] fiunt?

[1] nostro *Bas*: nostrum *V*.
[2] sumus? et quidem *Madvig*: equidem *V*.
[3] eum *add. Weissenborn*: *om. V*.
[4] triumphus *J. F. Gronovius*: utrũ *V*.
[5] exorsi a dis sunt *Fr*: etobsiad discut *V*.
[6] bello *add. Madvig*: *om. V*.
[7] Capitolium *Kreyssig*: Capitolio *V*.
[8] dona portans *Madvig*: bonaque p̄r. trans *V*: dona bonaque populi Romani portans *Rossbach*.
[9] traducendas in triumphum dicavit *Turnebus*: traducendo in triumpho indicavit *V*.
[10] alio abducentes mactate *H. J. Müller*: aliosdẽ temactati *V*.
[11] enim? illae *Weissenborn*: emillae *V*.





that he might bring to an end the war which to nothing less than our great shame had dragged on through four years. When he was allotted this field of operations, when he left home, we marked him for victory and triumph with minds that read the future; and shall we deny him a triumph when he has won his victory? Nay more—shall we rob not only Paulus, but even the gods, of the honour that belongs to them? For it is to the gods too, not only to men, that we owe a triumph.[1] Your ancestors made the gods their starting-point in every important enterprise, and likewise resorted to them at the conclusion. When consul or praetor, his lictors in their military dress, sets out for his field of action and to war, he proclaims his vows upon the Capitol; when war has ended in victory, he returns in triumph to the same gods on the same Capitol, and brings them the well-earned gifts, as he promised them in his vows. No small part of a triumphal procession is formed by the sacrificial animals going ahead, which make it clear that the general is returning with thanksgiving to the gods for success on behalf of the commonwealth. Away with all those sacrificial victims which he has assigned to be led in the triumphal procession, and offer them up, some here, some there! I ask you! What of the banquet of the senate, which is not held on private property, nor on the unconsecrated land of the state, but on the Capitol—is this ceremony held for the pleasure of men, or in honour of the gods? B.C. 167

[1] Elsewhere (XXVI. xxi. 3; XXXI. xlviii. 12) Livy makes use of the argument that thanksgivings must be followed by a triumph.

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[12] honoris *Crévier*: hominumque *V*.

A.U.C. 587 "Quae omnia[1] auctore Servio Galba turbaturi
14 estis? L. Pauli triumpho portae claudentur? Rex Macedonum Perseus cum liberis et turba alia captivorum, spolia Macedonum, in circo Flaminio[2] relinquentur? L. Paulus privatus tamquam rure
15 rediens a porta domum ibit? Et tu, centurio, miles, quid de imperatore Paulo senatus decrevit potius quam quid Servius Galba fabuletur, audi; et hoc[3]
16 dicere me potius quam illum audi. Ille nihil praeterquam loqui, et id ipsum[4] maledice ac maligne, didicit; ego ter et viciens cum hoste provocato pugnavi;[5] ex omnibus, cum quibus manum conserui, spolia rettuli; insigne corpus honestis cicatricibus, omnibus adverso corpore exceptis, habeo."

17 Nudasse deinde se dicitur et, quo quaeque bello volnera accepta essent, rettulisse. Quae dum ostentat, adapertis forte, quae velanda erant, tumor inguinum proximis risum movit.

18 Tum "hoc quoque, quod ridetis", inquit, "in equo dies noctesque persedendo habeo, nec magis me eius quam cicatricum harum pudet paenitetque, quando numquam mihi impedimento ad rem
19 publicam bene gerendam domi militiaeque fuit. Ego hoc ferro saepe vexatum corpus vetus miles adulescentibus militibus ostendi: Galba nitens et integrum

[1] fiunt? Quae omnia *add. Zingerle*: *om. V*: parantur; et vos eas *Weissenborn*.

[2] in Circo Flaminio *Koch*: circa fluminio *V*.

[3] quid de imperatore Paulo senatus decrevit potius quam quid Ser. Galba fabuletur, audi; et hoc *Fr*: quibus ab imperatore Paulo donatus decrevit potius quam Ser. Galba fabulentur audis et hoc *V*: et tum, centurio milesque, quibus ab imperatore Paulo donatus es, decreta potius quam quid Ser. Galba fabuletur, audisti et hodie *Madvig*.

[4] et id ipsum *ed. Aldina, J. F. Gronovius*: etipsud *V*.





"Will you play havoc with all these rites at the B.C. 167
instigation of Servius Galba? Will the gates be closed to the triumph of Lucius Paulus? Will King Perseus of Macedonia, together with his sons, the throng of other prisoners, and the spoils of Macedonia, be left behind in the Flaminian Circus? Will Lucius Paulus go home from the gate as a private citizen, as if he were returning from his country house? You, centurion, and you, private, harken to what the senate decrees about General Paulus rather than what Servius Galba babbles, and harken too to my speech rather than his. He has learned nothing except talk, and that of a slanderous and malicious sort; I have on twenty-three occasions challenged and fought an enemy; I brought back the spoils of every man with whom I duelled; I possess a body adorned with honourable scars, every one of them received in front."

He then stripped, it is said, and told in which war he had received each wound. While displaying these, he by chance uncovered what should have remained concealed, and the swelling of his groin raised a laugh among those nearby.

"This too," he then said, "at which you are laughing I got by sitting my horse through whole days and nights; and I feel no more shame or regret for this than for these wounds of mine, since it never hindered me from successfully conducting affairs of state at home or in the field. As a veteran soldier before young soldiers, I have displayed this body of mine which has often been marred by the sword; let Galba uncover his sleek and untouched person.

[5] provocato pugnavi *Hertz*: per provocatio pugnauit *V*.

A.U.C. 587

20 denudet. Revocate, si videtur, tribuni, ad suffragium tribus; ego ad vos, milites, . . .

XL. Summam[1] omnis captivi auri argentique translati sestertium[2] milliens ducenties fuisse Valerius Antias tradit; qua haud dubie[3] maior aliquanto summa ex numero plaustrorum ponderibusque auri, argenti generatim ab ipso scriptis absumptum
2 efficitur. Alterum tantum aut in bellum proximum aut in fuga, cum Samothracen peteret, dissipatum tradunt; eoque id mirabilius erat, quod tantum pecuniae intra triginta annos post bellum Philippi cum Romanis partim ex fructu metallorum, partim
3 ex vectigalibus aliis coacervatum fuerat. Itaque admodum inops pecuniae Philippus, Perseus contra praedives bellare cum Romanis coepit.

4 Ipse postremo Paulus in curru, magnam cum dignitate alia corporis, tum senecta ipsa maiestatem prae se ferens; post[4] currum inter alios illustres viros filii duo, Q. Maximus[5] et P. Scipio; deinde equites turmatim et cohortes peditum suis quaeque ordinibus.
5 Pediti in singulos dati centeni denarii,[6] duplex centurioni, triplex[7] equiti. Alterum[8] tantum pediti

[1] *folium unum amissum*; summam *Fr*: mam *V*.
[2] sestertium *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[3] qua haud dubie *J. F. Gronovius*: queautdubie *V*.
[4] post *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[5] Q. Maximus *Sigonius*: maximum *V*.
[6] denarii *add. J. F. Gronovius, H. J. Müller*: *om. V*.
[7] centurioni, triplex *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[8] alterum *add. Muretus*: *om. V*.

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[1] Plutarch, *Aemilius* xxxi. 6, supplies the conclusion, the bracketed words being suggested by this: "I shall come down and accompany (you) all and shall discover the base and un-





Tribunes, call back the tribes, if you please, to the voting; I [will join] you, soldiers . . ."[1] B.C. 167

XL. The total of all the captured gold and silver which was carried in the procession was one hundred and twenty million sesterces, according to the account of Valerius Antias; no doubt a somewhat larger total than this is made up from the number of wagons and the weights of gold and silver in various forms which are mentioned by this same author.[2] As much again was either expended in the late war, or scattered during the flight, when Perseus was making for Samothrace, according to the historians; and this fact is the more marvellous, because this huge sum of money was accumulated within thirty years after Philip's war with the Romans, partly from the output of the mines, and partly from other revenues. Philip therefore began his war against Rome when he was rather ill-supplied with funds, but Perseus, when he was very rich.

Paulus himself came last in his chariot, showing a magnificent presence not only because of the general dignity of his bearing, but because of his advanced age as well. After the chariot came his two sons, Quintus Maximus and Publius Scipio, among other distinguished men; then came the cavalry by troops, and the units of infantry, rank by rank. Each infantryman received one hundred denarii, each centurion, twice the amount, and each cavalryman,

grateful who prefer to be led in war by demagogues rather than generals."

Also missing is the date of the triumph, Nov. 27–29, C.I.L.[2] I. i. p. 48, xxvii, and the description of most of the triumphal procession, cf. Diodorus XXXI. xiii.

[2] Plutarch, *Aemilius* xxxii, mentions 750 vessels, each containing three talents of coined silver.

A.U.C. 587 daturum fuisse credunt et pro rata aliis, si aut in suffragio honori eius favissent,[1] aut benigne hac ipsa summa pronuntiata [2] acclamassent.[3]

6 Sed non Perseus tantum per illos dies documentum humanorum casuum fuit, in catenis ante currum victoris ducis per urbem hostium ductus, sed etiam victor
7 Paulus, auro purpuraque fulgens. Nam duobus e filiis, quos duobus datis in adoptionem solos nominis, sacrorum familiaeque heredes retinuerat domi, minor, duodecim [4] ferme annos natus, quinque diebus ante triumphum, maior, quattuordecim annorum,
8 triduo post triumphum decessit; quos praetextatos curru vehi cum patre, sibi ipsos similis destinantis [5]
9 triumphos, oportuerat. Paucis post diebus data a M. Antonio tribuno plebis contione, cum de suis rebus gestis more ceterorum imperatorum edissereret, memorabilis [6] eius oratio et digna Romano principe fuit.

XLI. " Quamquam, et qua [7] felicitate rem publicam administraverim, et quae duo [8] fulmina domum meam per hos dies perculerint, non ignorare vos, Quirites, arbitror, cum spectaculo vobis nunc triumphus meus, nunc funera liberorum meorum fuerint,
2 tamen paucis, quaeso, sinatis me cum publica

[1] in suffragio . . . favissent *Harant*: non suffragi . . . fuissent *V*.
[2] pronuntiata *Muretus*: nuntiata *V*.
[3] acclamassent *Fr*: classe *V*.
[4] duodecim *add. Fr, Heraeus*: *om. V*.
[5] destinantis *Novák*: praedestinantis *V*.
[6] edissereret, memorabilis *H. J. Müller*: dedissetre morabilis *V*.
[7] et qua *Madvig*: ob quã l. pauloratioadpr̄. *V*.
[8] administraverim, et quae duo *J. F. Gronovius*: administraverit et duo *V*.





three times as much. It is thought that double the amount would have been given to the infantry, and proportionately to the rest, if they had supported Paulus' triumph in the voting, or had cheerfully applauded the announcement of the gift as actually given. B.C. 167

But Perseus was not the only testimony at this time to the state of human fortunes, as he was led in chains before the chariot of his conqueror through the city of his enemies; the conqueror Paulus, in the splendour of his gold and purple, was no less a witness. For of the two sons whom he kept at home as the only heirs of his name, his family rites, and his household, after he had given two other sons to be adopted,[1] the younger boy, aged about twelve, died five days before the triumph, and the elder, fourteen years old, died three days after the festivity. These were the minor boys who should have ridden with their father in the chariot, secretly planning like triumphs for themselves. When a few days later an assembly of the commons was called by Marcus Antonius the tribune, and Paulus discoursed, as was customary for commanders, on his exploits, his speech was noteworthy and well-suited to a leading Roman:

XLI. " Although you, my fellow-citizens, are not unaware, I believe, of the good fortune with which I have conducted the affairs of the state, and of the two thunderbolts which have recently struck my house—for you were eyewitnesses first of my triumph, and then of the funerals of my sons—yet I beg you to permit me in a few words to compare, in the proper

[1] See above, XLIV. xxxv. 14 and the note; Plutarch, *Aemilius* xxxv.

A.U.C. 587 felicitate comparare eo, quo debeo, animo privatam meam fortunam.

3 "Profectus ex Italia classem a Brundisio sole orto solvi; nona diei hora cum omnibus meis navibus Corcyram tenui. Inde quinto die Delphis Apollini pro me exercitibusque et classibus vestris[1] sacrificavi.
4 A Delphis quinto die in castra perveni; ubi exercitu accepto, mutatis quibusdam quae magna impedimenta victoriae erant, progressus, quia inexpugnabilia castra[2] hostium erant neque cogi pugnare poterat rex, inter praesidia eius saltum ad Petram
5 evasi et ad Pydnam regem[3] acie vici; Macedoniam in potestatem populi Romani redegi et, quod bellum per quadriennium tres[4] ante me consules ita gesserunt, ut semper successori traderent gravius, id ego
6 quindecim diebus perfeci. Aliarum deinde secundarum rerum velut proventus secutus; civitates omnes Macedoniae se dediderunt, gaza regia in potestatem venit, rex ipse tradentibus prope ipsis dis in templo Samothracum cum liberis est captus. Mihi quoque ipsi nimia iam fortuna[5] videri eoque
7 suspecta esse. Maris pericula timere coepi in tanta pecunia regia in Italiam traicienda et victore exercitu
8 transportando. Postquam omnia secundo navium cursu in Italiam pervenerunt neque erat quod ultra precarer, illud optavi ut, cum ex summo retro volvi fortuna consuesset, mutationem eius domus mea

[1] vestris *Sigonius*: lustri *V*.
[2] castra *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[3] Pydnam regem *Madvig*: pugnam rege *V*.
[4] quadriennium tres *Leutsch*: iiii *V*.
[5] fortuna *Hertz*: fortunam *V*.





spirit, my personal fortune with the good fortune of the state. B.C. 167

"When I left Italy, I set sail from Brundisium at sunrise; at the ninth hour of the day I reached Corcyra with all my ships. Five days later at Delphi I offered sacrifice to Apollo on my own behalf, and on that of your armies and fleets. From Delphi I arrived five days later in camp. I took command of the army, removed certain great obstacles to victory, and advanced. Because the camp of the enemy was impregnable, and the king could not be compelled to fight, I slipped between his garrisons through the pass at Petra,[1] and at Pydna I conquered the king in battle. I brought Macedonia under the control of the Roman People, and in fifteen days I finished a war which three consuls before me had waged over a period of four years, each in such a way as always to leave a worse situation for his successor. A harvest, as it were, of further successes followed; all the cities of Macedonia surrendered, the royal treasures were secured, the king was taken prisoner along with his children in the temple of Samothrace, almost as if the gods themselves delivered him into our hands. Even to me this good fortune seemed excessive, and therefore I viewed it askance. I began to fear the dangers of the sea during the carrying of the great royal treasure to Italy, and the transfer of the victorious army. After everything had been brought to Italy in a successful voyage, and I had nothing left to pray for, my hope was that, since fortune is wont to plunge downward from its high point, the brunt of this

[1] For this pass, cf. XLIV. xxxii. 9; xxxv, end, and the note. Diodorus XXXI. xviii practically reproduces Livy's sentence above.

A.U.C. 587

9 potius quam res publica sentiret. Itaque defunctam esse fortunam publicam mea tam insigni calamitate spero, quod triumphus meus, velut ad ludibrium casuum humanorum, duobus funeribus liberorum
10 meorum est interpositus. Et cum ego et Perseus nunc nobilia maxime sortis mortalium exempla spectemur, ille, qui ante se captivos captivus[1] ipse
11 duci liberos vidit, incolumes tamen eos habet; ego, qui de illo triumphavi, ab alterius funere filii currum conscendi, rediens alterum[2] ex Capitolio prope iam expirantem inveni;[3] neque ex tanta stirpe liberum
12 superest, qui L. Aemili Pauli nomen ferat. Duos enim tamquam ex magna progenie liberorum in adoptionem datos Cornelia et Fabia gens habent; Paulus in domo praeter senem[4] nemo superest. Sed hanc cladem domus meae vestra felicitas et secunda fortuna publica consolatur."

XLII. Haec tanto dicta animo magis confudere audientium animos quam si miserabiliter orbitatem suam deflendo locutus esset.

2 Cn. Octavius kalendis Decembribus de rege Perseo navalem triumphum egit. Is triumphus sine captivis
3 fuit, sine spoliis. Dedit sociis navalibus in singulos denarios septuagenos quinos, gubernatoribus, qui in navibus fuerant, duplex, magistris navium quadruplex.
4 Senatus deinde habitus est. Patres censuerunt ut Q. Cassius Persea regem cum Alexandro filio Albam in custodiam duceret; comites, pecuniam, argentum,

[1] captivus *add. Fr*: *om. V.*
[2] conscendi, rediens alterum *add. Vahlen*: *om. V.*
[3] expirantem inveni *Vahlen*: expirantes veni *V.*
[4] senem *Zingerle*: sed *V.*

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[1] Alba Fucens, mentioned as a place of custody in XXX. xvii. 2 and Summary LXI.





change should fall not upon the state, but upon my household. And so I hope that the fortune of Rome has completed its course in so extraordinary a disaster as mine, since my triumph, as if in mockery of human vicissitudes, was interposed between the two funerals of my sons. Both Perseus and I are now on view as especially conspicuous samples of man's lot. Yet he, who as a prisoner saw his children led as prisoners before him, yet has those children unharmed; whereas I who celebrated the triumph over him mounted my chariot after the funeral of one son, and when I returned from the Capitol found the other almost on the point of death, nor is there one left of so splendid a generation of sons to carry on the name of Lucius Aemilius Paulus. For two sons were given in adoption, as if from a great stock of children, and they belong to the Cornelian and Fabian clans. Not a Paulus is left in my house, save one old man. But I am consoled in this disaster to my house by your happiness and the good fortune of the state." B.C. 167

XLII. These words, spoken with such magnificent spirit, caused more turmoil of soul to the hearers than if his speech had been a pitiable lamentation for his bereavement.

On the first of December, Gnaeus Octavius held a naval triumph over King Perseus. This triumph was unadorned with prisoners or spoils. Octavius presented to each of the sailors seventy-five denarii, to the pilots of the ships twice as much, and to the captains, four times the amount.

The senate then met. The Fathers voted that Quintus Cassius should conduct King Perseus with his son Alexander to Alba[1] for safe-keeping; he was to permit the king to keep intact the staff, money, silver,

A.U.C. 587 instrumentum, quod haberet, nihil detrahens habere
5 sineret; Bithys, filius Cotyis,[1] regis Thracum, cum[2] obsidibus in custodiam Carseolos est missus. Ceteros captivos, qui in triumpho ducti erant, in carcerem condi placuit.

6 Paucos post dies, quam haec acta erant,[3] legati ab Cotye, rege Thracum, venerunt pecuniam ad redi-
7 mendum filium aliosque obsides adportantes. Eis in senatum introductis et id ipsum argumenti praetendentibus orationi,[4] non sua voluntate Cotyn bello iuvisse Persea, quod obsides dare coactus esset, orantibusque ut eos pretio, quantum ipsi statuissent
8 patres, redimi paterentur, responsum ex auctoritate senatus est, populum Romanum meminisse amicitiae, quae cum Cotye maioribusque eius et gente Thracum
9 fuisset. Obsides datos crimen, non criminis defensionem esse, cum Thracum genti ne quietus quidem Perseus, nedum bello Romano occupatus timendus
10 fuerit. Ceterum, etsi Cotys Persei gratiam praetulisset amicitiae populi Romani, magis quid se dignum esset, quam quid merito eius fieri posset, aestima-
11 turum, filium atque obsides ei remissurum. Beneficia gratuita esse populi Romani; pretium eorum malle relinquere in accipientium animis quam praesens exigere.

[1] detrahens habere sineret; Bithys, filius Cotyis *add. Madvig*: *om. V.*
[2] Thracum, cum *Madvig*: tracū *V.*
[3] quam haec acta erant *Madvig*: qua haec tanta *V.*
[4] orationi *J. F. Gronovius*: orationis *V.*

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[1] Plutarch, *Aemilius* xxxvii relates that Perseus died no long while after by self-starvation; though a story was told that his guards caused his death from sleeplessness by over-





and furnishings which he had. Bithys, the son of B.C. 167 Cotys, King of Thrace, was sent with the hostages to Carseoli for safe-keeping. It was voted to place in the prison the other prisoners who were led in the triumph.[1]

A few days after these transactions, envoys came from Cotys, King of Thrace, bringing money to ransom his son and the other hostages. When these envoys were brought before the senate, they used the fact itself as the theme of their apology, saying that Cotys had not voluntarily aided Perseus in the war, because he had been compelled to give hostages; the envoys pleaded that they should be permitted to ransom them for whatever amount the Fathers themselves might determine. The answer authorized by the senate was that the Roman People were mindful of the friendship which had existed between them and Cotys, his ancestors, and the people of Thrace; but the giving of hostages constituted an accusation, not a defence against accusation, since the Thracian people had no reason to fear Perseus even when he was at peace, to say nothing of his being involved in a war against Rome. However, although Cotys had preferred the favour of Perseus to the friendship of the Roman People, the latter would reckon rather what was worthy of themselves than what action would answer to his deserts, and would send him back his son and his hostages. Benefits conferred by the Roman People, said the senate, are without charge; the Romans prefer to leave the price on deposit in the hearts of the recipients rather than to demand cash down.

officious attentions. His son Alexander learned a trade, and presumably lived out a normal life.

A.U.C. 587 Legati tres nominati, T. Quinctius Flamininus,[1] C. Licinius Nerva, M. Caninius Rebilus, qui obsides in Thraciam reducerent; et Thracibus munera data
12 in singulos binum milium aeris. Bithys cum ceteris obsidibus a Carseolis accersitus ad patrem cum legatis missus.

Naves regiae captae de Macedonibus invisitatae ante magnitudinis in campo Martio subductae sunt.

XLIII. Haerente adhuc non in animis modo, sed paene in oculis memoria Macedonici triumphi L. Anicius Quirinalibus triumphavit de rege Gentio
2 Illyriisque. Similia omnia magis visa hominibus quam paria; minor ipse imperator, et nobilitate Anicius cum Aemilio et iure imperii praetor cum consule conlatus; non Gentius Perseo, non Illyrii Macedonibus, non spolia spoliis, non pecunia pecuniae,[2] non dona donis comparari poterant.
3 Itaque sicut praefulgebat huic triumphus recens, ita apparebat ipsum per se intuentibus nequaquam esse
4 contemnendum. Perdomuerat intra paucos dies terra marique ferocem, locis munimentisque[3] fretam gentem Illyriorum; regem regiaeque omnes stirpis ceperat.

Transtulit in triumpho multa militaria signa
5 spoliaque alia et supellectilem regiam, auri pondo viginti et septem, argenti decem et novem pondo,

[1] tres nominati, T. Quinctius Flamininus *Madvig*: trans nominatius quintius idaminimus *V*.

[2] spoliis, non pecunia pecuniae *Sigonius*: sponsiliis non pecuniae *V*.

[3] munimentisque *Kreyssig*: monumentisque *V*.

---

[1] February 17.





Three envoys, Titus Quinctius Flamininus, Gaius Licinius Nerva, and Marcus Caninius Rebilus, were appointed to escort the hostages back to Thrace. Gifts of two thousand *asses* apiece were given to the Thracians. Bithys was summoned, along with the other hostages, from Carseoli, and was sent off to his father with the envoys. B.C. 167

The king's ships captured from the Macedonians, of a size never previously seen, were beached by the Campus Martius.

XLIII. While recollections of the Macedonian triumph remained not only in people's minds, but almost before their eyes, Lucius Anicius celebrated his triumph over King Gentius and the Illyrians on the festival of Quirinus.[1] Men saw in each detail a resemblance, but no equality. The commander himself was the lesser, both in public esteem, as an Anicius compared with an Aemilius, and in rank of office, a praetor rather than a consul. Gentius could not be compared to Perseus, the Illyrians to the Macedonians, nor the spoils of the one to those of the other, nor the moneys, nor the gifts to the soldiers. But though accordingly the previous triumph outshone this one, yet it was also clear to those who contemplated this one on its merits that it was by no means to be scorned. Within a few days Anicius had overcome the Illyrian people, bold on both land and sea, and confident in their terrain and their fortifications; he had captured the king and all the royal family.

In his triumph he bore through the city many military standards and other booty, as well as the royal furniture, twenty-seven pounds of gold, nineteen pounds of silver, thirteen thousand denarii, and

A.U.C. 587 denarium decem tria milia et centum viginti milia
6 Illyrici argenti. Ante currum ducti Gentius rex
cum coniuge et liberis et Caravantius, frater regis, et
7 aliquot nobiles Illyrii. De praeda militibus in
singulos quadragenos quinos denarios, duplex cen-
turioni, triplex equiti, sociis nominis Latini quantum
civibus, et sociis navalibus dedit quantum militibus.
8 Laetior hunc triumphum est secutus miles, multisque
dux ipse carminibus celebratus. Sestertium du-
centiens ex ea praeda redactum esse auctor est
Antias, praeter aurum argentumque, quod in
aerarium sit latum; quod quia unde redigi potuerit
non apparebat, auctorem pro re posui.

9 Rex Gentius cum liberis et coniuge et fratre
Spoletium in custodiam ex senatus consulto ductus,
ceteri captivi Romae in carcerem coniecti; recusanti-
busque custodiam Spoletinis Iguvium[1] reges tra-
10 ducti. Reliquum ex Illyrico praedae ducenti viginti
lembi erant; de Gentio rege captos eos Corcyraeis
et Apolloniatibus et Dyrrhachinis Q. Cassius ex
senatus consulto tribuit.

XLIV. Consules eo anno agro tantum Ligurum
populato, cum hostes exercitus numquam eduxissent,
nulla re memorabili gesta Romam ad magistratus
subrogandos redierunt et primo comitiali die consules
2 crearunt M. Claudium Marcellum, C. Sulpicium
Gallum, deinde praetores postero die L. Iulium, L.

[1] Iguvium *Turnebus*: igituruium *V*.

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[1] Probably the *victoriati*, of 53 grains, which the Romans later imitated for use about the Adriatic, cf. XLI. xiii. 7.





one hundred and twenty thousand Illyrian silver-pieces.[1] Before the chariot were led King Gentius with his wife and children, Caravantius the king's brother, and several prominent Illyrians. Anicius gave from the booty to each soldier forty-five denarii, double the amount to each centurion, and three times as much to the cavalry; the allies of the Latin Name received as much as the Romans, and the sailors as much as the soldiers. The soldiery followed this triumph in better spirits, and the leader was the subject of many songs. Twenty million sesterces was realized from this booty, according to Antias, besides the gold and silver delivered to the treasury; since it was not clear to me from what source this amount could be derived, I have quoted an historian instead of stating a fact. B.C. 167

King Gentius with his wife, his children, and his brother, was taken to Spoletium for safe-keeping, in accordance with a decree of the senate. The other prisoners were thrown into the prison at Rome. When the people of Spoletium refused to take custody, the royal family was transferred to Iguvium. There remained from the Illyrian booty two hundred and twenty scout-ships; as prizes taken from King Gentius they were presented to the people of Corcyra, Apollonia, and Dyrrhachium by Quintus Cassius, in accordance with a decree of the senate.

XLIV. In that year the consuls merely ravaged the fields of the Ligurians, since the enemy never led out their forces. Without accomplishing anything worthy of note, the consuls returned to Rome to attend to the election of their successors, and on the first day of the elections, declared Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Gaius Sulpicius Gallus elected as consuls. On the next day there were elected as

A.U.C. 587 Apuleium Saturninum, A. Licinium Nervam, P. Rutilium Calvum, P. Quinctilium Varum, M. Fonteium. His praetoribus duae urbanae provinciae sunt decretae, duae Hispaniae, Sicilia ac Sardinia.

3 Intercalatum eo anno; postridie Terminalia kal.[1] intercalariae fuerunt. Augur eo anno mortuus est C. Claudius; in eius locum augures legerunt T. Quinctium Flamininum. Et flamen Quirinalis mortuus Q.[2] Fabius Pictor.

4 Eo anno rex Prusia venit Romam cum filio Nicomede. Is magno comitatu urbem ingressus ad forum
5 a porta tribunalque Q.[3] Cassi praetoris perrexit concursuque undique facto deos, qui urbem Romam incolerent, senatumque et populum Romanum salutatum se dixit venisse et gratulatum, quod Persea Gentiumque reges vicissent, Macedonibusque et Illyriis in dicionem redactis auxissent imperium.
6 Cum praetor senatum ei, si vellet,[4] eo die daturum dixisset, biduum petit, quo templa deum urbemque
7 et hospites amicosque viseret. Datus qui circumduceret eum, L.[5] Cornelius Scipio quaestor, qui et

[1] kal. *add. Crévier, Weissenborn*: *om. V.*
[2] Q. *Sigonius*: M. *V.*
[3] Q. *add. Fr*: *om. V.*
[4] vellet *Wesenberg*: velit *V.*
[5] L. *add. Fr*: *om. V.*

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[1] A return to peace-time practice; the Spains were combined during the war, so that a praetor could be assigned as naval commander, or for other special purposes. Cf. xvi. 4.

[2] See XLIII. xi. 13 and the note on the need at this time for frequent intercalation. This intercalary month began on what would ordinarily have been the twenty-fourth of February.

[3] A clash between his priesthood and his desire for a public career is related in XXXVII. li. 1–6; his grandson or great-





praetors Lucius Julius, Lucius Apuleius Saturninus, B.C. 167
Aulus Licinius Nerva, Publius Rutilius Calvus, Publius Quinctilius Varus, and Marcus Fonteius. The provinces appointed for these praetors were the two city magistracies, the two Spains,[1] Sicily, and Sardinia.

There was an intercalation in this year; the day after the Terminalia was the first day of the intercalary month.[2] An augur died this year, Gaius Claudius; in his place, the augurs chose Titus Quinctius Flamininus. The *flamen* of Quirinus, Quintus Fabius Pictor,[3] also died.

In this year King Prusias came to Rome with his son Nicomedes. Entering the city with a large train, he proceeded from the gate to the Forum and the judgment-seat of Quintus Cassius the praetor. A crowd gathered from all sides; Prusias announced that he had come to bring greetings to the gods who inhabited the city of Rome, and to the senate and the Roman People, and to congratulate them on their victory over King Perseus and King Gentius, and on the extension of their empire by placing the Macedonians and Illyrians under their sway. When the praetor offered to call a session of the senate for him on that very day, if he pleased, Prusias asked for a two-day interval, during which he might visit the temples of the gods, the city, and his friends and guest-friends. There was assigned to him as escort Lucius Cornelius Scipio the quaestor, who had also

grandson, Numerius Fabius Pictor, issued coins in honour of his ancestor, showing an armed figure with the priest's head-dress in his hand, perhaps to indicate that Quintus was both soldier and priest—unless the figure represents Quirinus, who had military functions even before his identification with the deified Romulus during the late Republic.

A.U.C. 587
Capuam ei obviam missus fuerat; et aedes, quae
ipsum comitesque eius benigne reciperent, conductae.
8 Tertio post die senatum adiit;[1] gratulatus vic-
toriam est; merita sua in eo bello commemoravit;
petiit, ut votum sibi solvere, Romae in Capitolio
decem maiores hostias et Praeneste unam Fortunae,
liceret—ea vota pro victoria populi Romani esse—,
9 et ut societas secum renovaretur agerque sibi de
rege Antiocho captus, quem nulli datum a[2] populo
Romano Galli possiderent, daretur. Filium postremo
Nicomedem senatui commendavit.

Omnium, qui in Macedonia imperatores fuerant,
10 favore est adiutus. Itaque cetera, quae petebat,
concessa; de agro responsum est legatos ad rem
inspiciendam missuros; si[3] is ager populi Romani
fuisset nec cuiquam datus esset, dignissimum eo
11 dono Prusiam habituros esse; si autem Antiochi non
fuisse et[4] eo ne populi quidem Romani factum
appareret[4] aut datum Gallis esse, ignoscere Prusiam
debere,[4] si ex nullius iniuria quidquam ei datum vellet
12 populus Romanus. Ne cui detur[5] quidem, gratum
esse donum posse, quod eum qui det, ubi velit,[6]
13 ablaturum esse sciat. Filii[7] Nicomedis commenda-
tionem accipere. Quanta cura regum amicorum

[1] senatum adiit *Fr, Drakenborch*: senatuagit *V*.
[2] a *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[3] si *add. Kreyssig*: *om. V*.
[4] fuisse et . . . appareret . . . esse, ignoscere Prusiam debere *Hertz*: peruissent . . . apparat . . . essetignosceret Prusiam deberet *V*.
[5] cui detur *Crévier*: quo detur qui detur *V*.
[6] velit *Madvig*: vellet *V*.
[7] filii *Madvig*: felici *V*.





been sent to Capua to meet him; and a house was rented for him, where he and his suite might be well entertained. B.C. 167

On the third day following, he approached the senate; he offered congratulations on the victory; he recited his services in the war; and he requested permission to fulfill a vow of ten full-grown victims at Rome in the Capitol and one at Praeneste to Fortune. This vow, he said, was for the victory of Rome; and he asked that the alliance with him should be renewed, and that the land taken from King Antiochus, which had been assigned to no one by the Roman People and was being held by Galatians, should be given to him. Last of all, he placed his son Nicomedes under the protection of the senate.

He was aided by the good-will of all those who had been commanders in Macedonia. Consequently all but one of his requests were granted; as to the land, the answer was that envoys would be sent to look the matter over; if this land belonged to the Roman People and had been assigned to no one, they would consider Prusias most worthy of receiving it as a gift; if, on the other hand, it was shown not to have belonged to Antiochus, and therefore not to have come into the possession of the Roman People, or that it had been presented to the Galatians, then Prusias must pardon the Roman People, if they were unwilling to wrong anyone in the process of making him a present. A gift, said the senate, could not be pleasing even to the recipient, if he knew that the giver would take it away again whenever he pleased. The senate accepted the commission to protect his son Nicomedes. How great was the care with which

A.U.C. 587
liberos tueatur populus Romanus, documento Ptole-
maeum, Aegypti regem, esse.
14 Cum hoc responso Prusias est dimissus. Munera
ei ex . . .[1] sestertiis iussa dari et vasorum argente-
15 orum pondo quinquaginta. Et filio regis Nicomedi
ex ea summa munera dari censuerunt, ex qua
Masgabae, filio regis Masinissae, data essent; et ut
victimae aliaque, quae ad sacrificium pertinerent, seu
Romae seu Praeneste immolare vellet, regi ex publico
16 sicut magistratibus Romanis praeberentur; et ut
ex classe, quae Brundisi esset, naves longae viginti
17 adsignarentur, quibus uteretur; donec ad classem
dono datam ei rex pervenisset, L. Cornelius Scipio
ne ab eo abscederet sumptumque ipsi et comitibus
praeberet, donec navem conscendisset.
18 Mire laetum ea benignitate[2] in se populi Romani
regem fuisse ferunt; munera sibi ipsi emi non sisse,[3]
19 filium iussisse donum populi Romani accipere. Haec
de Prusia nostri scriptores. Polybius eum regem
indignum maiestate nominis tanti tradit; pilleatum,
capite raso, obviam ire[4] legatis solitum libertumque
se populi Romani ferre;[5] ideo insignia ordinis eius
20 gerere; Romae quoque, cum veniret in curiam,
summisisse se et osculo limen curiae contigisse et
deos servatores suos senatum appellasse aliamque

[1] *lacunam indicat Fr.*
[2] mire laetum ea benignitate *Crévier*: amireletumeteabenignitatem *V.*
[3] sisse *Kreyssig*: siesse *V.*
[4] ire *add. Fr*: *om. V.*
[5] se populi Romani ferre *Madvig*: si pr. ferret *V.*





the Roman People guarded the sons of kings was shown, said the senate, by the case of Ptolemy, King of Egypt. B.C. 167

With this answer, Prusias was dismissed. Gifts were ordered given him of a value of . . .[1] sesterces, and silver vessels of fifty pounds' weight. It was also voted to give to Prince Nicomedes gifts to the same amount as had been given to Masgaba, the son of King Masinissa. It was further voted that the victims and other requisites for sacrifice should be furnished at public expense to the king, just as to Roman magistrates, whether he wished to sacrifice at Rome or Praeneste. Also twenty war-vessels from the fleet at Brundisium were to be assigned to his use; until the king should reach the fleet presented to him, Lucius Cornelius Scipio was to escort him uninterruptedly, and to provide for the expenses of the king and his suite, until he boarded ship.

They say that the king was wonderfully pleased with this expression of good-will toward himself on the part of the Roman People. He refused to have gifts bought for himself, but instructed his son to accept the gift of the Roman People. Such is the account of Prusias given by Roman writers. Polybius reports[2] that this king was unworthy of the dignity of so high a title; that he was accustomed to meet envoys with his head shaved, while he wore a freedman's cap and called himself the freedman of the Roman People, giving this as his reason for wearing the emblem of this class. Polybius further says that when Prusias entered the senate-house at Rome, he fell down and kissed the threshold of the senate-

[1] The amount has been lost from the MS.
[2] XXX. 18 (19. 16).

A.U.C. 587 orationem non tam honorificam audientibus quam sibi deformem habuisse.

21 Moratus circa urbem triginta haud amplius dies in regnum est profectus, actumque in Asia bellum inter Eumenen et Gallos in . . . it.[1]

[1] inde coepit *Mommsen*: increvit *Gitlbauer*: innotuit *Wesely*. *Verba ultima in lineis duabus obscurissimis; inde lineae sex ad colophona.*





house, hailed the senate as his saviour-gods,[1] and B.C. 167 indulged in further speech which conveyed more disgrace to himself than honour to his hearers.

After remaining in the vicinity of Rome no more than thirty days, he set out for his kingdom, and . . .[2] the war under way between Eumenes and the Galatians.

[1] This title (Soter) was adopted by several Hellenistic rulers, notably Ptolemy the First.

[2] A few lines are missing in the MS. at the end of this book. The lost verb of this sentence is presumably "egged on," or the like.

# LIBER XLV PERIOCHA

PERSEUS ab Aemilio Paulo in Samothrace captus est. Cum Antiochus, Syriae rex, Ptolemaeum et Cleopatram, Aegypti reges, obsideret et missis ad eum a senatu legatis qui iuberent ab solo [1] regis absisteret, editisque mandatis consideraturum se quid faciendum esset respondisset, unus ex legatis Popilius virga regem circumscripsit iussitque, ante quam circulo excederet, responsum daret. Qua asperitate effecit ut Antiochus bellum omitteret. Legationes gratulantium populorum atque regum in senatu admissae, Rhodiorum, qui eo bello contra populum R. faverant, exclusa. Postera die cum de eo quaereretur, ut his bellum indiceretur, causam in senatu patriae suae legati egerunt; nec tamquam socii nec tamquam hostes dimissi. Macedonia in provinciae formam redacta Aemilius Paulus repugnantibus militibus ipsius propter minorem praedam et contradicente Ser. Sulpicio Galba triumphavit et Persen cum tribus filiis duxit ante currum. Cuius triumphi laetitia ne solida ei contigeret, duorum filiorum funeribus insignita est; quorum alterius mors triumphum patris praecessit, alterius secuta est.

Lustrum a censoribus conditum est: censa sunt civium capita CCCXII DCCCV. Prusias Bithyniae rex Romam, ut senatui gratias ageret ob victoriam ex Macedonia partam, venit et Nicomeden filium senatui commendavit. Rex plenus adulationis libertum se populi Romani dicebat.

[1] ab solo *Rossbach, de* ab *dubitans*: ab obsidione solo *mss.*, ab obsidione socii *Leidensis, ed. pr.*



# SUMMARY OF BOOK XLV

PERSEUS was captured by Aemilius Paulus in Samothrace. When Antiochus, king of Syria, was besieging Ptolemy and Cleopatra, the rulers of Egypt, envoys were sent to him by the senate to bid him withdraw from the king's land. When the message was delivered, he answered that he would consider what he would do, whereupon Popilius, one of the envoys, drew a circle around the king with his rod, and ordered him to give an answer before he left the circle. By this harshness, Popilius induced Antiochus to give up the war. Embassies of peoples and kings offering congratulations were received by the senate; that of the Rhodians, whose sympathies had been against the Roman People in that war, was shut out. On the following day, when the question of declaring war against them was under discussion, the envoys pleaded the cause of their country in the senate. They were sent away neither as allies nor as enemies. After Macedonia had been organized as a province, Aemilius Paulus celebrated his triumph, although his own soldiers strove against it because of too little booty, and Servius Sulpicius Galba spoke against it. Perseus and his three children were led before the chariot. Paulus' enjoyment of this triumph was not unalloyed, but was marked by the funerals of his two sons. The death of the first preceded his father's triumph, that of the other followed it.

The end of the *lustrum* was marked by the censors; 312,805 citizens were counted.[1] King Prusias of Bithynia came to Rome to offer his thanks to the senate for the victory secured over the Macedonians, and entrusted his son Nicomedes to the care of the senate. The king, full of flattery, used to call himself the freedman of the Roman People.

[1] The account of this is lost between chs. xiv. and xv.

# INDEX OF NAMES

*(Figures in Parentheses refer to Footnotes; Roman numerals after place-names designate the map on which the place appears; for places not shown, and indicated by P, see Preface.)*

# INDEX OF NAMES

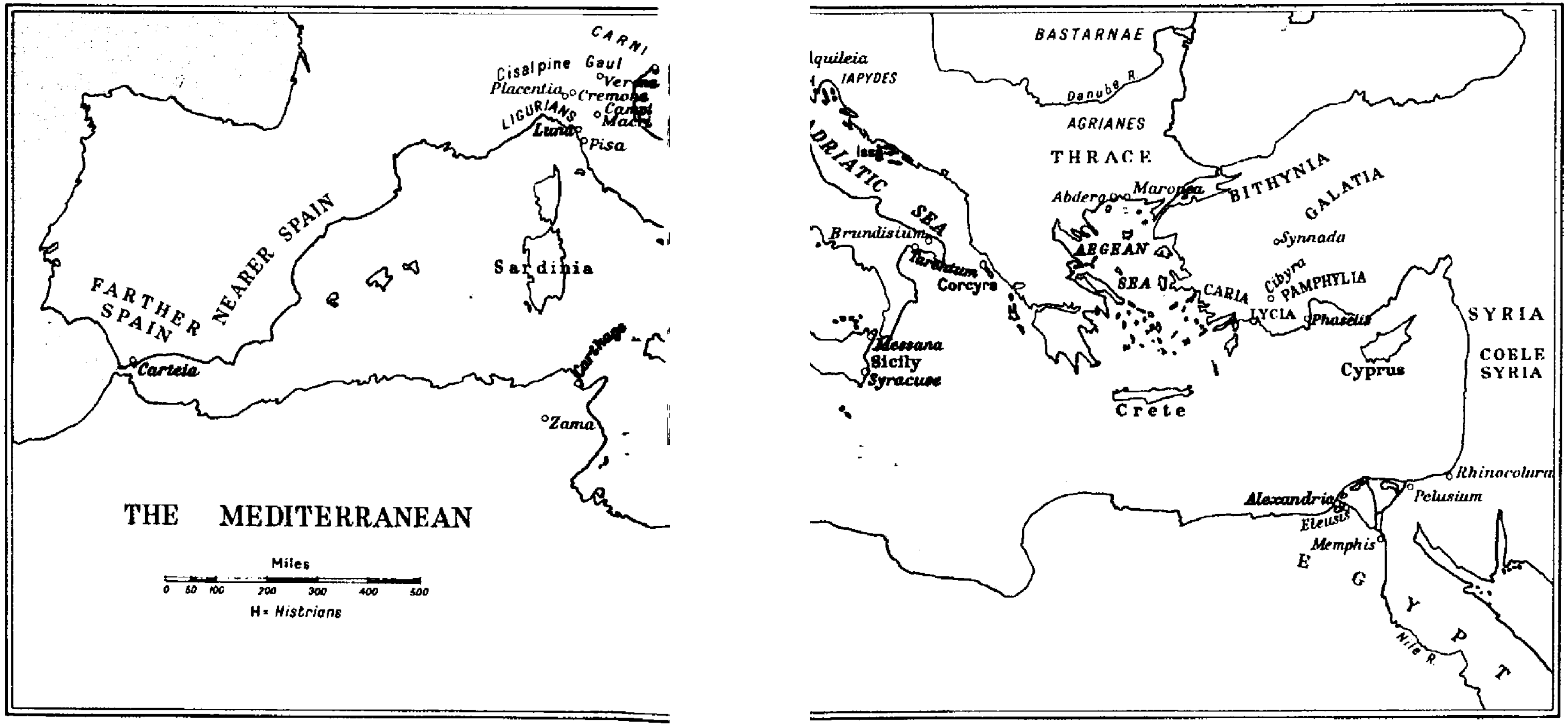
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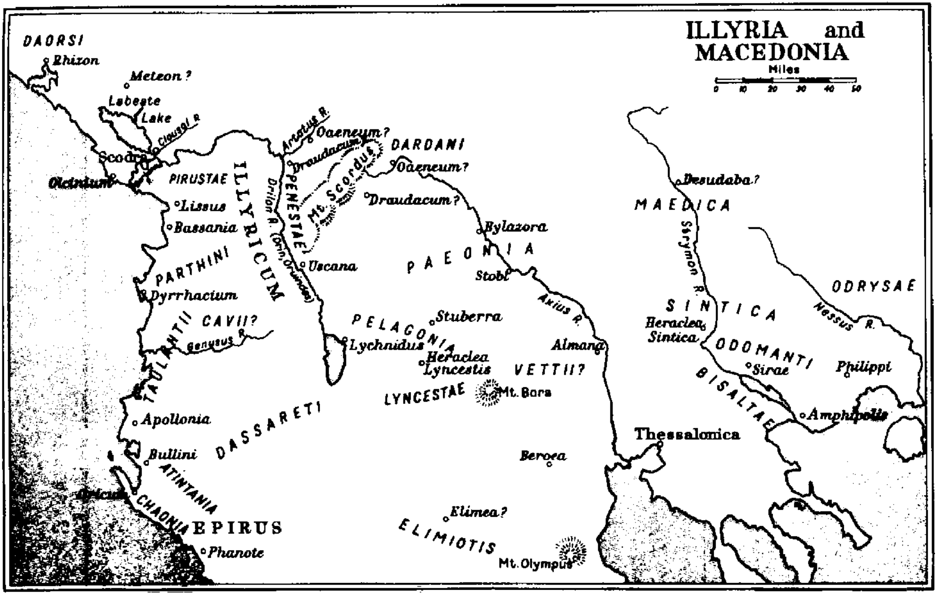
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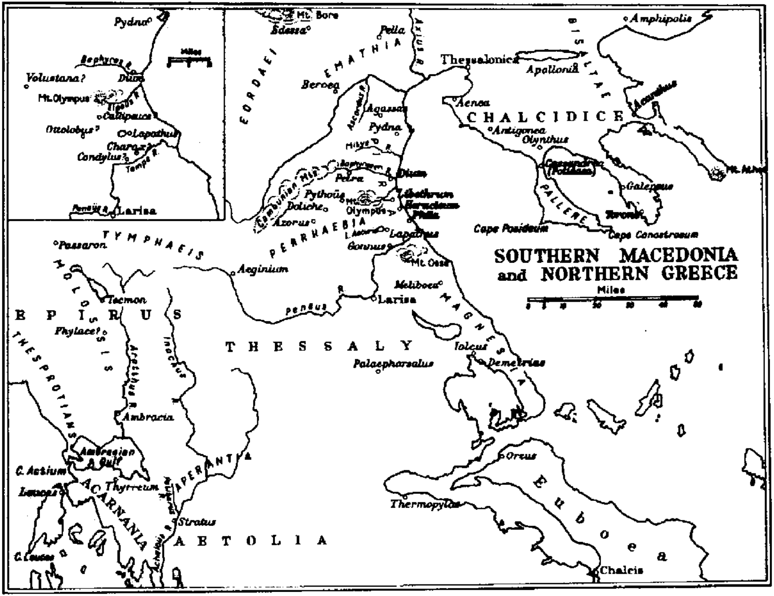
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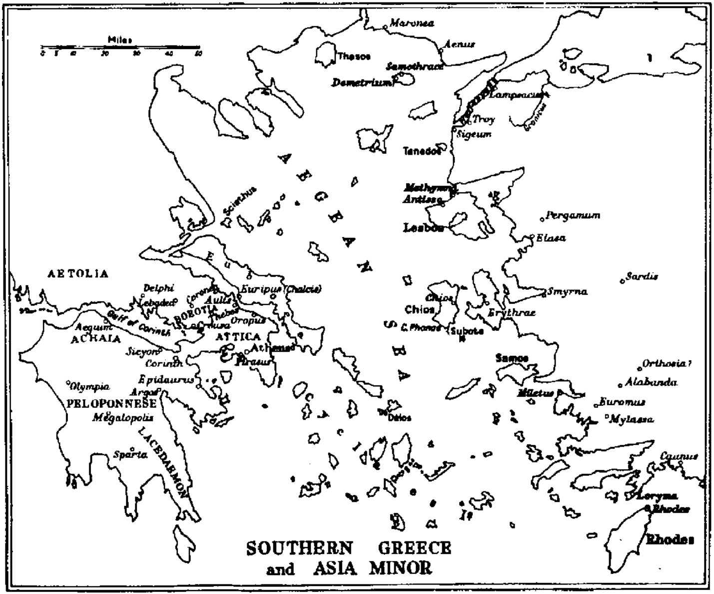
# INDEX OF NAMES

# MAPS

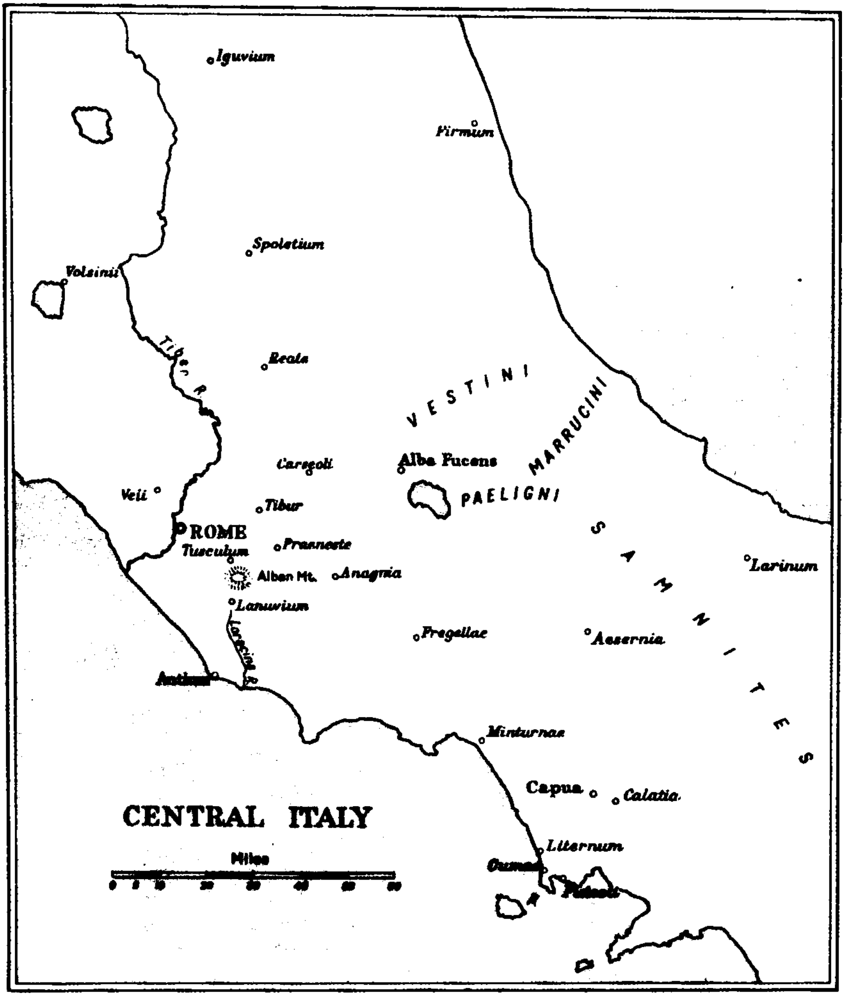

THE MEDITERRANEAN
Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
H= Histrians
CARNI
Cisalpine Gaul
Placentia
Cremona
Verona
LIGURIANS
Luna
Pisa
NEARER SPAIN
FARTHER SPAIN
Sardinia
Carteia
Carthage
Zama
BASTARNAE
Aquileia
IAPYDES
Danube R.
AGRIANES
THRACE
ADRIATIC SEA
Brundisium
Tarentum
Corcyra
Abdera
Maronea
BITHYNIA
GALATIA
Synnada
AEGEAN SEA
CARIA
Cibyra
PAMPHYLIA
LYCIA
Phaselis
SYRIA
COELE SYRIA
Cyprus
Messana
Sicily
Syracuse
Crete
Rhinocolura
Alexandria
Pelusium
Eleusis
Memphis
EGYPT
Nile R.


ILLYRIA and MACEDONIA
Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
DAORSI
Rhizon
Meteon ?
Labeate
Lake
Clausal R.
Scodra
Olcinium
PIRUSTAE
ILLYRICUM
Lissus
Bassania
PARTHINI
Dyrrhacium
CAVII?
Genusus R.
TAULANTII
Apollonia
DASSARETI
Bullini
ATINTANIA
CHAONIA
EPIRUS
Phanote
Ardaxus R.
Oaeneum?
Draudacum
Mt. Scordus
PENESTAE
Drilon R.
Uscana
DARDANI
Oaeneum?
Draudacum?
Bylazora
PAEONIA
Stobi
Axius R.
PELAGONIA
Stuberra
Lychnidus
Heraclea Lyncestis
VETTII?
Almana
LYNCESTAE
Mt. Bora
Beroea
Elimea?
ELIMIOTIS
Mt. Olympus
Desudaba?
MAEDICA
Strymon R.
SINTICA
Heraclea Sintica
ODRYSAE
Nessus R.
ODOMANTI
Sirae
Philippi
BISALTAE
Amphipolis
Thessalonica


SOUTHERN MACEDONIA
and NORTHERN GREECE
Miles
Pydna
Volustana?
Dium
Mt. Olympus
Ottolobus?
Lapathus
Condylus?
Tempe R.
Larisa
Mt. Bora
Edessa
Pella
EORDAEI
EMATHIA
Axius R.
Thessalonica
Apollonia
BISALTAE
Amphipolis
Beroea
Aenea
CHALCIDICE
Antigonea
Olynthus
Agassa
Cassandrea (Potidaea)
PALLENE
Galepsus
Torone
Cape Posideum
Cape Canastraeum
Mt. Athos
Pythoüs
Doliche
Azorus
Mt. Olympus
PERRHAEBIA
Gonnus
Mt. Ossa
TYMPHAEIS
Passaron
Aeginium
Peneus R.
Larisa
Meliboea
MOLOSSIS
Tecmon
EPIRUS
Phylace?
THESPROTIANS
Arethus R.
Inachus R.
THESSALY
Iolcus
Demetrias
MAGNESIA
Palaepharsalus
Ambracia
Ambracian Gulf
C. Actium
Leucas
ACARNANIA
Thyrreum
APERANTIA
Stratus
Achelous R.
AETOLIA
C. Leucas
Oreus
Thermopylae
Euboea
Chalcis



SOUTHERN GREECE and ASIA MINOR



Iguvium
Firmium
Spoletium
Volsinii
Tiber R.
Reate
VESTINI
MARRUCINI
Carseoli
Alba Fucens
PAELIGNI
Veii
Tibur
ROME
Tusculum
Praeneste
Alban Mt.
Anagnia
Lanuvium
Loracina R.
Fregellae
Aesernia
SAMNITES
Larinum
Minturnae
Capua
Calatia
Liternum
CENTRAL ITALY
Miles